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Art and Religion of the Bhairavas

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

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Art and Religion of the Bhairavas

illumined by Two Rare Sanskrit Texts

Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka and *Jñāna-siddhi*

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शाखा सहस्रविस्तीर्ण वेदागम मयात्मने ।
नमो अनन्तफलोत्पाद कल्पवृक्षाय शम्भवे ॥

Śākhā sahaśra vistīrṇa Vēdaāgama mayātmanē |
namō ananta phalotpāda Kalpavṛkṣhāya śambhave ||

Sthava Cintāmaṇi verse 16, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa

"Salutations to the sublime Siva
The celestial All bestowing Kalpa tree,
The embodiment of Vedas and Agamas,
That springs and spreads
Into thousands of branches
To put forth endless fruits of life"

ஞானத்தால் தொழுவார் சில ஞானிகள்
ஞானத்தால் தொழுவேன் உனை நான் அல்லேன்
ஞானத்தால் தொழுவார்கள் தொழக் கண்டு
ஞானத்தாய் உனை நானும் தொழுவனே.

அப்பர்

"Lord, some knowledgeable men worship Thee with knowledge
I am not so knowledgable to worship you with knowledge,
But looking at those who worship Thee with knowledge
I, too worship Thee with knowledge"

St. Appar

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illumined by Two Rare Sanskrit Texts

Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka and *Jñāna-siddhi*

Vidyavacaspati, Kalaimamani

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

Director, International Institute for Saiva Siddhanta Research,
Dharmapuram Adheenam, Mayiladuturai.

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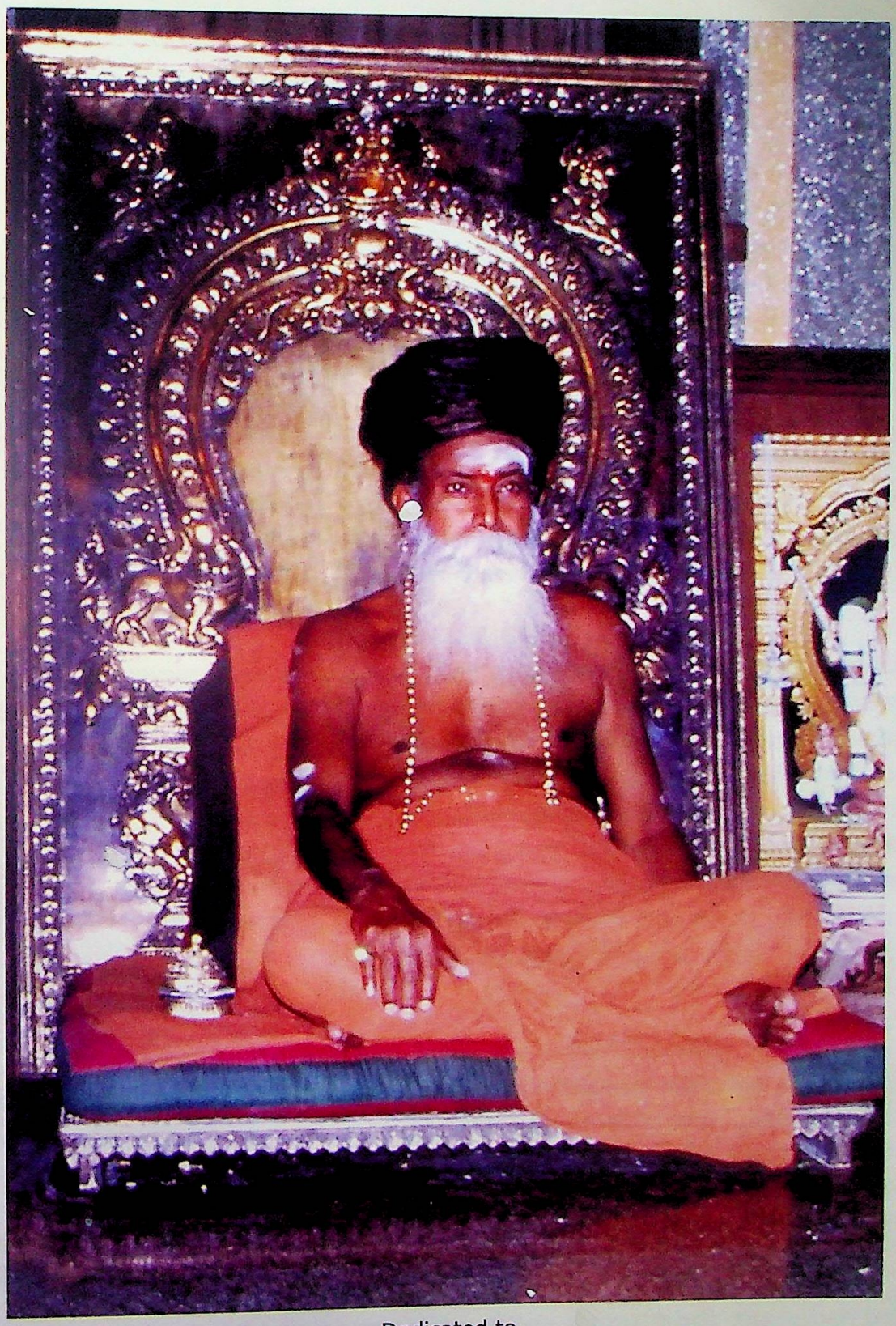

Dedicated to
Srila Sri. Shanmukha dēsika Jnanasambandha Paramacharya Swāmikal,
the Mahāsannidhanam, 26th head of the Dharmapuram Adheenam.

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various Saiva systems. No other text, so far known, gives such detailed information on Bhairava, Kāpālika, Kālāmukha, Sōma, and other schools of Śaivam as this one. Both the texts are given in original in the available form. The *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra,* the authoritative text is cited extensively to provide a clear picture of Vāma-Śākta ideology and Bhairava school of thought.

It is seen that Madhya Pradesh (Central India) and other regions including Kashmir leaned very heavily on Bhairava worship and so their temples and sculptures are studied from that angle. The study also reinterprets and corrects many doubtful identifications of Tantric and other sculptures displayed in great museums of the world like USA, UK, Germany, France and other Western countries, and also in Indian Museums. All the revisions are based on textual and inscriptional sources. The art and history of the ancient city of Ujjaini, which seemed to have played a leading role in Bhairava Saivism is lucidly explained. With over 24 colour plates and over 100 black and white illustrations, the book revolutionizes the study of the monumental art of India.

I express my profound heartfelt thanks, to Dr. Bettina Baumer, who presented me with *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra* with kindness and encouragement. Prof. R.N. Misra, of Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, Dr. Kamalesa Dutt Tripati, the Director of Kalidasa Academy, Ujjaini, Sri Muhammad, Superintending Archaeologist, Bhopal Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Prof. Dwivedi, University of Gwalior and a large number of other enthusiastic scholars who evinced great interest in this research.

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R. Nagaswamy
5.5.2006

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The Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school was founded by Meykaṇṭa Dēvar in his Tamil work "*Śiva-jñāna-bōdham*" written in the thirteenth cent. Arul Nandi in his "*Śiva-Jñāna-siddhiyār*"[1] elaborated this text. These two works put together constitute the basis of Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta system. Another Śaiva Siddhānta text, *Jñāna-āvarana-dīpīkā* was written as a supplement to the Siddhānta text *Śiva-Jñāna-siddhiyār* by Guru Jñāna-sambanda-mūrtikal, the Founder Head of the Dharmapuram Ādhīnam Maṭha of Tamilnadu.

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar who is mentioned as "Śiva-Jñāni" and also "Rajata-Sabhānātha-yōgi" wrote this commentary on the *Jñāna-āvaraṇa-dīpikā* as *vyākhyāna-viḷakkam*. He belonged to the *Sanat-kumāra-santāna* which elucidated *Jñāna-āvaraṇa-siddhānta*[4] (School). This was a tradition established by one Satya-Jñāna-darśi, followed by Paranjyōti who initiated Meykaṇṭār, the founder of the Śaiva siddhānta tradition through his Tamil Work *Śiva-jñāna-bodham*. This was a translation into Tamil of the Sanskrit text *Siva-jñāna-bodham*. In this line of teachers came Kamalai-jñāna-prakāśa who initiated Guru Jñānasambanda who established the Dharmapuram Ādinam maṭha. He wrote a text called Jñānāvaraṇa dīpikā. Veḷḷi-ambala-vānar the author of this commentary obtained initiation from Māsilāmani dēśika, the fourth head of the Dharmapuram maṭha.

From this it is evident he had another but famous name Satya-jñānī and that he was an Ati-varnāśrami a recluse.

Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka

The *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is a rare Sanskrit text dealing with various Śaiva and Śākta sub-sects that existed in mediaeval India. It deals with more than thirty sub-sects among the Śaiva and Śākta schools, their basic philosophy, the concept of Supreme in each school, their mode of worship, and the texts they followed, that are of great value to Indian religious history. They help in understanding monumental temples and sculptures through out India that have come up in mediaeval times based on these schools. The name of the author is not available but the date of composition can be fixed with an amount of certainty. The available text consists of more than 840 verses in *anuṣhṭub* metre with a few prose passages in between. In its original form it dealt with other schools as well like Advaita, Mīmāmsa, Sāmkhya, Yōga, Dvaita, Bauddha, Jaina and others, as its name "*Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka*" suggests, like the "*Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*" of Sāyana Mādhava,[5] which has been published in more than two

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editions The later text *Sarva-darśana-sangraha* is well known and extensively cited by scholars but *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is not known. The present text shows that there has been a tradition of compiling basic tenets of all schools for the better understanding of serious students of philosophy.

Jñāna-siddhi

The other text *Jñāna-siddhi*[6] is an important source for the study of Saivism and is also found in the same commentary on Dipikā by Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇa-svāmikaḷ. It is mentioned in the commentary that it is an Āgama included among 224 secondary Āgamas and follows ths agamic structure in its arrangement. This text in its original contained more details but the available parts have been used to supplement what is not found in the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka*. *Jñāna-siddhi* is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Dēvī and is ascribed to divine origin that carries authority as the other āgamas.

Both the texts available for us have neither the beginning nor the end and presented here as found in the citations in their incomplete forms. As the citations are selective there are gaps and also loss of continuity. In some instances same verses are cited more than once. Such repetitions have been removed in this volume. The citations occur along with many other quotations thus seem to fail in their cohesiveness. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar has taken extraordinary care to cite the name of the text and even the chapter from which he quotes, that makes the collection easy and authentic. In one or two instances there still persist doubts as to the citations and its text. Inspite of such difficulties the volume of verses cited from both the works is so great that they stand out as monumental texts. As these two texts are not cited in any study so far including the recent exhaustive Śaiva studies by Sanderson[7] or Goodal[8] it is obvious that these texts are not known to any and deserve to be brought to the notice of the scholars in their present state of availability with notes and comments.

The *Jñānāvaraṇa* had a *bhāṣhya* in Sanskrit from which Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar draws citations. At the beginning of the text, he makes it clear that he was composing *Pada-vivēka* (a commentary with meaning for words) for the Tamil *Jñānāvaraṇa-viḷakkam* that was composed by Guru Jñānasambanda-dēśika,[9] the founder of the Dharmapuram Śaiva siddhānta maṭha. This Acārya wrote three great works- *Śiva-bhōga-sāram, mukti-niścayarm* and *Jñānāvaraṇa-viḷakkam*. As the contribution of Sri Guru Jñāna-sambanda, the founder of the Dharmapuram maṭha is a land mark in the

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history of Tamil society and deserves to be properly appreciated it is dealt with in the sequence. It is not known how close Jñānāvaraṇa Viḷakkam in Tamil, is to *bhāṣhya* in Sanskrit. Obviously it is evident that Guru Jñānasambanda dēśika was steeped in *Jñānāvaraṇa* tradition, which is also called *Jñānānta* school, different from the *Karmānta* school. *Jñānānta* School is also called Siddhānta Śaivam. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar was also an ardent follower of the same school and hence wrote this *Pada-vivēka*, now well known as *Mahā-bhāṣhya*.[10] As Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar cites extensively from both Tamil and Sanskrit texts, there could be no doubt that his work is a *Mahā-bhāṣhya*.

The benedictory verse of the *Mahā-bhāṣhya* seems to sugges that "*Jñānāvaraṇa-viḷakkam*" of Guru Jñāna-sambanda-dēśika was known as "*Jñānāvaraṇa-dīpikā* in Sanskrit and that Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar's own work called *Arump-pada-vivēka* or shortly *pada-vivēka*.

This work is an exposition of *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* and its great exposition *Śiva-jñāna-siddhi* by Arulnandi Śivācāryar. The later work *Śiva-jñāna-siddhi* is in two parts, as *Parapakṣha* and *Supakṣha* (the external schools and the Internal schools). This text begins with the *Supakṣha* of Aruḷnandi. As the external schools have already been dealt with elaborately in his *Para pakṣha*, he begins discussing *supakkam* or what we may call the internal schools and their refutation and finally establishes his own School firmly.

So both the Sanskrit and Tamil texts dealing with the external schools have not been elaborately discussed here. It is in a way a great loss to our knowledge, because those portions dealing with Lokāyatas, Ārhatas, Baudhdhas, Māyāvādins and others in such text as *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* and *Jñānasiddhi* are lost.

It is however a matter of satisfaction that the extensive citations especially of *Sarva-siddhātanta-vivēka* and *Jñānasiddhi* provided in this portion help us greatly in understanding the Śaiva Siddhānta in an all India perspective the like of which is not furnished by other sources. This part establishes that by Siddhānta Śaiva, it means the Śaiva system that is based mainly on tenets of āgamas like Kāmikāgama which in essence is a combination of both Vēdic and Āgamic path. In this school there is no question of rejecting Vēda or Āgamas. It also categorically states that Vēdas are considered the general texts" and Āgamas are the "specific texts". Secondly it also holds that Siddhānta Śaivas were classified as "the benign school" (*Saumya*) while all

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the others were considered *Raudra* schools "the wild schools". Thirdly even among the *saumya* schools, there are two distinct sub schools; one "the *Karmānta* school" and the other *Jñānānta* school. Karmānta school is also considered external school and "*Jñānānta*" is called Siddhānta Śaivam. This Siddhānta Śaivam thus holds that the observance of *caryā, kriyā*, and *yōga* as enunciated in the āgamas, culminate in Jñāna-knowledge like Vedānta, and that alone is the path of liberation. So Siddhānta Śaiva is called Jñānānta Śaivam through out this text. The supremacy of *Jñānānta* is consistently maintained and all other Śaiva schools are held *Pūrva-paksha* i.e the tenets of the schools are outlined and logically disproved. This means the followers of other Śaiva schools will reach certain stages in the path of Śaiva liberation called *pada-prāpti*, while Siddhānta alone is considered the fruition of Supreme liberation.

Date of Tamil Śiva-Jñāna-bōdham

In the history of Tamil Śaivam, the text *Śivajñāna-bōdham* by Meykaṇṭa dēva is the foremost, assigned to the 13th cent.[11] It is in 12 sūtras. Earlier, the Tamil authors and poets considered this text as a translation of the Sanskrit text *Śivajñāna-bōdha* of *Rauravāgama*.[12] However in recent times they are claiming that the Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* is not a translation but an original work. The 1956 publications of the Tamil Śaiva maṭha published the Sanskrit text along with the Tamil text.[13]

We have seen that Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar is catagoric in stating that the Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* is a translation from the Sanskrit *Śiva-Jñāna-bōdha*, found in the *pāsa-vimōcana-paṭala* of *Rauravōttara-āgama*.[14] Another great commentator on the Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* was Śiva-jñāna Yōgi, whose work *Śiva-Jñāna-bhāṣhyam* and called also as *Drāviḍa-mahābhāṣhyam*, lived in the 18th cent. At the very beginning of the first *sūtra* he maintains that the Tamil work is a translation of the Sanskrit *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham*.[15] In his long introduction it is said that Nandikēśvara received this *Śivajñāna-bōdham* in Sanskrit from Srikaṇṭa paramēśvara.[16] Nandi taught this to Saint Sanatkumāra, who transmitted this to Satyajñāna-darśi from whom it came to Param-jyōti, the teacher of Meykaṇṭa-dēva.[17] Paramjyoti directed Meykaṇṭadēva to translate this into Tamil, which he did and from then on the Tamil School took firm root. Arulnandi Śivācārya wrote the exhaustive commentary on this Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* in his *Śivajñāna-siddhiyār*. *Śiva-jñāna-yōgi* in his *bhāṣhya* mentions that this original Sanskrit text is found in *Rauravāgama* (and not *Raurvaottara āgama*) (Also see another publication of Tamil *Śiva Jñāna Bōdham* with

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a commentary, *Vedānta dīpika*, published in 1922 at Kumbakonam which says at the title page " *Vedānta dīpika* a commentary on *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* translated into Tamil by Meykaṇṭa Dēvar.) Whatever be the variations in the name of the original source it was believed until 20th cent, that the Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* was a translation from Sanskrit. Thiru V. Kalyanasundara mudaliyar, the noted Tamil Scholar wrote in the Samajam edition (1936) that the *Śiva-Jñāna-upadēsa* was received from his Gurunātha by Meykaṇṭa-Dēvar who wrote the Tamil version (p11). However it was M. Balasubramanya mudaliyar who wrote the biography of Śiva-Jñāna-yōgi in the same 1936 edition, asserted that the Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* was not a translation, but an original Tamil work (p. 24). From then on, the now populist scholars started asserting that it is not a translation. But any one who reads the available original texts and understands chronology will not be convinced by the present advocacy of independent work.

Sri N.R. Bhat, who has edited many Śaiva-āgamas for the French Institute of Indology, Pondichery stated that the Sanskrit *Śivajñāna-bōdham* text is not found in any known *Raurava-āgama* mss and so the Tamil text should be considered an original. The *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka,* published here which is earlier than Aghōra-Śivācārya, quotes three sutras verbatim from the Sanskrit *Śiva-jñāna bōdham.*[18] So the existing Sanskrit *Śivajñāna bōdham* is certainly earlier than 11th cent. We must now agree with the earlier Tamil poets and scholars and hold that the Tamil *Śivajñāna-bōdham* is a Tamil translation from the original Sanskrit text. The controversy may now be set at rest.

The entire text of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is based on this *Śiva-jñāna- bōdham* and hence should be viewed as a Siddhānta Śaiva text per excellence. A careful study of this school and the texts cited indicate that both the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta and Siddhānta Śaiva of rest of India are identical. It also shows that Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamil region produced an enormous body of Śaiva śāstra literature in Tamil language that spread Śaivism among a vast population not fluent with Sanskrit language and never struck an independent or conflicting path..

The Tamil soil was most fertile for this movement by its great devotional popular upsurge created by the Śaiva Nayanmars especially Tēvāram saints Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and the Thiruvācakam of saint Maṇikkavācakar. The age of the Tēvāram saints showed that Śaivism went beyond caste and that trend remained

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through out the centuries. In one and the same *santāna paramparā*- hierarchy of Ācāryas, we find both non-Brahmins and Brahmins as gurus. Eminent Ācāryas, of the agricultural Śūdra caste were held as the most venerated Ācāryas by even the most eminent Brahmin Śaivācāryas as in the case of Meykaṇṭār and his disciple Arulnandi Śivācāryār. The one distinct contribution of the Tamil Śaivam is the total integration of the Indian society under the banner of Śaivism, beyond caste and creed.

This also gives a negation to the populist movement that Sanskrit is a Brahminical language that was not available to the non-Brahmin community. The shear volume of Tamil Śaiva śāstric texts, considerable number being excellent translations from Sanskrit originals, by eminent Ācāryas belonging to Vellāla caste (Śūdras) shows that there was no linguistic divide. This text *Jñānāvaraṇa dīpika* by Guru Jñānasambanda dēśika and Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar is the best example of such a great system.

S.N.Dasgupta has done yeomen service to the history of Indian philosophical systems by publishing five volumes.[19] While he has dealt with all the major schools in detail, the history of Śaivam has not received adequate attention in his series. The learned professor had a desire to treat the Śaiva systems more exhaustively and was obviously collecting data but could not complete the task in his lifetime.[20]

Monumental temples dedicated to Śiva were built and sculptures portrayed in the whole of India and South East Asia. There had been overwhelming numbers of Śiva temples when compared to all other systems put together, but the history of Śaiva system has not received the attention it deserves. The present text gives more information and picture about this system than hitherto known. It is thus a very valuable text.

The available text also gives the tenets of sub sects among the Śākta Vāma schools, which is another notable usefulness of this text. It gives nine sub-sects among them throwing light on their diverse approaches. Interestingly it includes the Śākta Vāma school as a sub school of Śaiva system and is thus a valuable source for the history of Śākta traditionas as well

Different schools of Philosophies: Summarizing Tradition

The tradition of summarizing different systems of philosophy either for study or for purpose of refutation may be traced to the śūtra period. The *"Brahma śūtra"* for

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example refers to various systems and their refutations. The commentators like Śankara have elaborated these various systems in the course of their refutation. This gives us an insight into these systems and helps us in understanding the history of various schools.

Āgamic tradition: Mṛigendra āgama

The Śaivāgamas taditionally list the external schools from early times. The Mṛgendra āgama for example which is an early text (earlier than the 10th cent) refers to the following schools, the views of which are refuted from the Śaiva siddhānta standpoint.

1. Vedānta-vādi
2. Kapila's Sāmkhya school
3. Kānāda School (Vaiśēṣhikas)
4. Hiranya garbha school
5. Pātañjala (Yōga) school
6. Anekāntika vādi (Jains)
7. Saugatas (Buddhist school)
8. Sadasad-vādi
9. Pānca-rātra school (Vaiṣhṇava school) and
10. Padārtika-darśana

The Great Kashmiri scholar Nārāyaṇakanṭa (10th cent) has an elaborate commentary on Mṛgendra in which he gives more details about all these schools.[21]

Svacchanda-tantra

Another important text that gives similarly a list of different schools is the Svacchanda tantra. This text is held by some scholars as not the original *Svacchanda bhairava tantra*[22] but should be considered a later work. However as the present text has a detailed commentary on it by Kṣhēmarājā, a desciple of Abhinavagupta there could be no doubt that it is earlier than 10th cent. The Svacchanda tantra is called *Mahāmaheśvara darśana* and also as *Svacchanda-naya*. Kṣhēmarājā himself was called Mahāmaheśvara ācārya and his commentary called *udyōta*. While the text *Svacchanda* gives briefly the list of different schools Kṣhēmarājā in his commentary

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provides more insight into the schools so listed. The following are the schools listed in the text.

1. Sāmkhya
2. Yōga
3. Pāñcarātrikas
4. Svabhāva-vādis
5. Karma-vādis
6. Samsaya-vādis
7. Nagna-kṣhapaṇakas
8. Bhūta-vādis
9. Laukika-vādis
10. Ātma-cintakas
11. Tarka-pravādis
12. Vaiśeshikas (also called Shad-padārtha-parāyaṇas)
13. Nyāya-vādis
14. Hētu-drishṭānta-vādis
15. Eka-janma-vādis
16. Eka-vādis
17. Dhūrta-vādis

Kṣhēmarājā gives the following details on these schools.

Sāmkhyas are those who hold that ignorance about the principles, Prakṛiti and Puruṣha leads on to worldly sufferings and their correct knowledge leads to liberation.

(*prkṛiti puruṣhayōr avivēka mātrāt samsārah; vivēkāt tu muktih*).

Yōga

are those who hold that realization of the nature of ones own self by the manifestation of union of soul and the mind by steadfast retention bestows liberation :

cittaikāgryātma-yōga āvēśa samprāpya- driṣhṭa svarūpāvasthiti muktih

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Pāñca-rātrikas The Pāñca-rātris accept 26 principles. They hold that Vāsudēva who is of the nature of great splendour and who is the soul of Para-prakriti constitutes the world.

(*ṣhadvimśati tattva - rūpa mahāvibhūtyātmaka – Vāsudēvākhya -paraprakriti parināmātmaka -prakrityādi jagad-vādi)*

Svabhāva-vādi Contents that there is no such entity called God other than Nature that causes bodily-form, instruments of perceptions and worldly spheres:

(*Prithvyādayah svabhāvēna tanu-karaṇa-bhuvana-kāryam pravartante. Na punah Īśvarah asti iti evam vādi*).

Karma-vādi This school contends that action alone is the cause of the Universe and nothing else. (It is not clear whether *Karma* here refers to Vēdic sacrifices (*yajña-karma*) or simple worldly action. For there are many agamic texts that list Mīmāmsa karma Śāktas who emphasize karma and are known as *Karma Mīmāmsakas.* But there is no other mention of Mīmāmsakas in this list. In all probability it is the Mīmāmsakas who are referred to here.

(*karmaiva viśvakāraṇam. na anyat iti ācakṣhvānāh*)

Samsaya-vādis are those who express doubts about all tenets.

Nagna-kshapanakas Are the Jains who argue as "*asti nāsti*"

Bhūta-vādis are the Cārvākas who hold that there are only four basic elements namely earth, water, air and fire that are seen visible and there is nothing else (*prithvī app, tējah vāyu iti bhūta catuṣṭayam ēva pratyakṣha driṣhṭam asti iti kathayadbhih cārvākair*)

Ātma-cintakas: These are the Vaidika's who hold that all that have come into existence and are likely to appear again are none other than the Supreme *(puruṣha ēvēdam sarvam yadbhūtam yad ca bhavyam ityādi cintayadbhir vaidikais)*

Tarka-pravādis Inferring causes for principles that are not known by other means is called *"ūhah tarkah"* a form of deduction. Those who insist on such a deduction are the Tarka-vādis (*avijñāta tattvē arthē kāraṇa utpatti tattvajñānārtham ūhah-tarkah)*

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Vaiśeṣhikas also called **Ṣhad-padārtha-parāyaṇas**: this school holds that there are only six principles namely material, quality, action, commonality, special characteristics, and coherence (*dravya, guña, karma, sāmānya, viśēṣha, samavāya padārthākhya ṣhadkam ēva tattvam iti abhidadabhih kānāda śiṣhyāih)*

Nyāya-vādas: This school is different from the Tarka School. The Naiyāyikas believe that knowledge of evidence about 16 principles provides source of liberation (*pramānādi padārtha ṣhōdaśa tattva jñānāt niśśrēyaso bhavati iti bhruvānaih Naiyāyikaih*)

Hetu-driṣhṭānta-vādi : Buddhist (Saugatas)

Ekajanma-vādi: this school asserts that there is no other birth than the present (*vartamānam eva ekam idam janma; na tu janmāntaram abhūt bhāvi vā iti uditavadbhih*)

Ekātma-vādi : This is the Advaita school which holds that consciousness is only one and that is what Śivādvaitin holds as non dualism of the self-luminous consciouness and independent *Pāramēśvara-śāstra. (Pāramēśvara-śāstra-pratipādita-svaprakāśa-svatantra - cid - advaya - vāda – vyatirēkēna sattādyadvaya vādibhih*)

Dhūrta-vāda lokaih : The texts expounded by Dhūrtas like Mlēcchas (*dhūrta-viracita-mlēcchādi śāstra-niṣhṭaih*)

The above schools mentioned in the *Svacchanda tantra* and the commentary by *Kṣhēmarājā* around 1000 CE would show that many sub sects were active at that point of time.

Though the names of these different schools are listed, there were more such schools which may number more than three hundred, says the *Svacchanda Tantra*[23].

The Tarka school starts with their questioning and always engaged in clearing doubts rather than realizing the truth. Their concentration is on arguments and all ways interested in winning over others. Those who do not have devotion towards the preceptor, god and the Śāstras, and waste their time in arguments are dry logicians,[24] they abandon the true path and hence go to the nether world, as they pursue ignorant path laid on unrighteous tenets. The four principles are Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya and Aiśvarya, righteous conduct, knowledge, determined rejection of desires and command over self, unrighteous conduct; attachment to desires and non-control over self arise

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out of *tamōguṇa*. Those who pursue Tarka system are over taken by *Tamōguṇa*. The laukika knowledge is based only on right conduct *dharmas. (Vārtā)*. The pañcaratrins have the righteous knowledge. They (*abhygamana, upādana, yajña* and a conclusion that god himself becomes worldly element. Vaīdikas preach both rituals *(karmānuṣhṭāṇa)* and knowledge; the Bauddhas and Jainas are bound by rejection of desires. The Sāṇkhyas, emphasize, both *prāṇa* (knowledge and rejection of desires *(Vaīrāgyam)*. The *Pātañjala* yōgīn emphasizes *Prāṇa* Vairāgyan and in addition self-control. All these followers are born again after their demise.

The Pāramēśvara Śāstra crosses these boundaries and so is called *'Atīmārga'*; those who go beyond birth and death are Atimārgins.

The Kapālavratins and Pāśupatas are not born again, as they remain steadfast in Īśvara. By the knowledge obtained through initiation (*Dīkṣhā*) and observing that Śaiva code of conduct the Kapālavratins go to their chosen abode. Similarly the Pāśupatas who perform action like smearing their body with sacred ashes and repeat god's name constantly, reach the abode of lord Iśvara.[25] They attain liberation and are not reborn, the Laukikas die and are born again and again.

Paramōkṣha-nirāśā-kārikā

A text of another category in the Śaiva system, that is of interest to this study, is *Para-mokṣha-nirāśā-kārikā* of Sadyōjyōti Śivācārya, an eminent Kashmiri scholar (10th cent). He begins his work with a citation from the *Rauarava-āgama* which he calls *Raurava sūtra*, and refers to Sāmkhya, Yōga, Vēdāntajñāna, Pāñcarātra, Māheśvara yogis, Pramāṇa-āgnēya-kartritva, and Viśikhāmala-kāraka schools. Obviously these schools were earlier schools that prevailed in the time of early stage of the *Raurava āgama*. Bhaṭṭa-Rāmakaṇṭa who was a desciple of Abhinava-gupta, second half of 10th cent, wrote a commentary on Sadyōjyōti-śiva's work. As mentioned earlier Sadyōjyōti lists a number of schools external to Śaiva siddhānta but also many internal Śaiva schools as well. Rāmakaṇṭa elaborates all these schools. The following are the Schools thus listed in the work.[26]

1. Sāmkhyas
2. Pramāṇa-kartritva (Yogis)
3. Āgnēya-kartritvas (These hold that they will attain equality with Sūrya and Agni (*Āditya agniyādi samatā*) by following their respective āgamas)

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4. Pravāha-nityēśvaras
5. Pradīpa nirvāṇa-vādi
6. Samāna-tāntrikas
7. Samutpatti-saṁkrānti-vāda
8. Utpatti-sama-vāda-pakṣha
9. Śikhā-samkrānti-vādi (Pāśupatas)
10. Abhivyakti-samatā
11. Samatā-samkrānti-pakṣha
12. Āvēśa-samatā-pakṣha
13. Gaṇēndra-sama-pakṣha
14. Svarūpāvāpti-pakṣha
15. Śivād-ādikhya-pakṣha
16. Guṇa-samkrānti-vāda
17. Jñāna-samkrānti-vāda
18. Utpatti-samkrānti-pakṣha
19. Guṇa-samkrāntī (Pāśupatas)
20. Parama-āvēśa-pakṣha
21. Parināma-vāda
22. Siddhānta-vādi

Makuṭāgama

The Makuṭāgama provides the following list of Śaivas in order.

1. Ūrdhva Śaivam
2. Ādi-Śaivam
3. Mahā Śaivam
4. Aṇu Śaivam
5. Avānatara Śaivam
6. Miśra Śaivam
7. Bhēda Śaivam
8. Guṇa Śaivam
9. Ājñā Śaivam

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The Makuṭāgama is called a *Mahātantra*, which is said to deal with Ūrdhva Śaivas. It also mentions divisions among the Śaiva system as four namely Śaivam, Pāśupatam, Somam, and Lākulam and holds Śaivam as the best among the four. This division is further categorized into two as *Raudra* and *Saumya* schools. The Saumya school is further divided into Dakṣhiṇa (right) and Vāma (sub- school). The discipline enjoined in the Vēdas is called Dakṣhiṇācāra while the system advocated opposite to Dakṣhiṇa is called Vāma system. There are some systems in which there is found mixture of both the systems that goes by the name Miśra. (Makuta Tantrāvatāra Paṭala[27] The Makuṭa is declared as the essence of Vēda (and falls under Dakṣhiṇa school.)

The Makuṭāgama defines Tantra as that which weaves expanding knowledge found in rituals and mental imagery into a carpet and protects the follower. (The word Tantra is split into *Tan* (weave) and *Trā* (protect) on the basis of which the above meaning is derived.)

Sarva darśana sangraha

The most outstanding work on different schools of Indian philosophy in the Sanskrit tradition is no doubt the "*Sarva darśana sangraha*" of various schools. Sāyana's work, assigned to 14th cent is an admirable history of Indian philosophy and scholars have drawn on it for an understanding of different systems.[28] Sāyana deals with the following systems in his work.

1. Cāruvākas
2. Bauddhas
3. Ārhatas (Jainas)
4. Rāmānujīya system
5. Pūrna Prajña system
6. Nakulīśa Pāśupata
7. Śaiva
8. Pratyabhijñā
9. Rasēśvara
10. Vaiśeshika or Aulūkya
11. Akṣhapāda or Nyāya
12. Jaiminīya
13. Pāninīya
14. Sāmkhya and
15. Patanjali yōga sūtra.

Sāyana mentions the sub sects among the Bauddhas and their tenets briefly as:

1. Vaibhāṣhikas
2. Yogācāra and
3. Sautrāntika
4. Mādhyamika

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Dealing with Jainas, Sāyana mentions the two main divisions amongst them namely Svētambaras and Digambaras and their life style. Sāyana also refers to Vaiṣhṇava system as Rāmānuja darśana, and mentions in the text Venkaṭanātha (Vēdānta dēśika) and Yāmuna. The Dvaita school of Vaiṣhṇavism is called *Pūrna-Prajñā darśanam*, at the beginning of which Mādhvācārya is called Ānanda-tīrtha. Four different Śaiva schools namely Nakulīśa Pāśupata system, Śaiva, Pratya bhinjnā system and Raseśvara system are dealt with. In the Pāśupata school the *Gana-kārikā*, Haradattācārya, and Nakuleśa are cited as authorities, In the Śaiva system Siddha-guru, Bhojarājā, Somāsambhu, Nārāyaṇa-kaṇṭa, Saurabhēya, *Mṛgendra-āgama*, *Pauṣhkara-āgama*, *Kāraṇa-āgama*, *Tattva-prakāśa*, *Tattva-sangraha*, *Kālōttara*, *Kiraṇa-āgama*, and *Jñāna- ratnāvalī* are cited as authorities. Somānandānātha, Utpalācārya, Udayākara's son, *Śiva sūtras* and *Kriyādhikāra* appear as authorities in Pratybhijñā School. The Raseśvara-vādins are also considered Mahēśvaras. Govinda-bhagavad-pāda, Rasārṇava, Rasa-hṛdaya, *Rasēśvara-siddhānta* and Sarvajña, and Sarvajña Rāmēśvara bhaṭṭāraka, Sākara siddhi appear as authorities. The other schools are cited mainly as respective Sūtrakāras. The most important point is that Sāyana does not import his own conclusion on any of the schools, but reflects truly the respective schools, though he has cited in each school the views of opposing schools and answers them from the respective stand point.

On account of its objectivity, clarity and comprehensiveness, *Sarva darśana sangraha* remains a leading text on history of Indian philosophy.

Śivāgrayōgi's *Śaiva-pari-bhāṣhā*

Śivāgrayōgi, who was almost a contemporary of Veḷḷi-āmbala-vāṇar, the commentator, and lived in Tamilnad, has composed a Sanskrit text called *Śaiva Paribhāṣhā'*.[29]

He deals with the opposing schools and establishes his own school based on Śaivāgamas, mainly on *Pauṣhkara.* He deals with the following schools.

1. Bauddhas
2. Bhaṭṭas
3. Pāñcarātras
4. Vaiśēṣhikas
5. Cāruvākas
11. Prābhākaras
12. Naiyāyikas
13. Kṣhapaṇakas
14. Sāmkhya
15. Mādhyamikas

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6. Yōgācāras
7. Pāśupatas
8. Mahāvratis
9. Guṇa- Śaiva
10. Sankrāntavādi
16. Śivasāmya vādins
17. Kāpālikas
18. Abhivyakti
19. Utpatti Sāmya
20. Samāvēśa

According to his school, experiencing the joy of Śiva through union with Śiva is liberation, *Śivākyabhāvēna, Śivānanda anubhava ēva mōkṣhah.*

We have seen that *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* , brings the Vāma systems under Śaiva group. The Kulārnava tantra has the following to say on the subject.[30]

"This world is constituted of both Śiva and Śakti, consciousness and power, and established in such a world is the *Kula-dharma* which is therefore the highest of all. It bases itself on the truth of both Śiva and Sakti and therefore it is the most truthful and most wholesome. The six darśanas are my limbs. He who differentiates among them cuts across "my body". Therefore the Śāstra of the Kula is none other than the Śāstra of the Vēda .

"Vēdantāmakam Śāstram Viddhi Kaulātmakam".

There are seven recognized religious systems bestowing spiritual merits on the followers. The first is the path of *Karma* - the Vēdic ritual; the second is Vaiṣhṇavism that emphasizes. *Bhakti,* devotion to god; the third is Śaiva which is a path of meditation *(dhyāna)* and *Jñāna* (knowledge); the fourth is the Dakshiṇa system that harmonizes *karma, bhakti* and *jñāna.* The fifth is the Vāma school where externalization (*Pravrtti* is turned into *Nivritti* (internal); the Dakṣhiṇa and Vāma schools are intended for a man of evolved nature. The Siddhānta is still for a higher nature. The final is said to be the Kaula system which is claimed to be the essence of all, the very Śiva. It has been extracted from the ocean of the Vēdas and Āgamas with the churning rod of *jñāna* by Śiva himself.[31]

Dealing with Daśa-kārya the *jñānasiddhi,* shows that the text was in the form of questions by the Dēvī and the answers provided by Īśvara,[32] as seen in many agamic texts).

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The Tamil tradition

The Tamil language has also a long-standing tradition of referring to different view points of philosophical systems almost from the beginning of the current era. A verse in the Puranānūru anthology of the Sangam age refers to a Brāhmana of Pūñcārrūr, whose family was Vēdic Śaivas, who were reputed for their mastery of logic with which they refuted the other schools of thoughts and established the system of Śaivāgamas taught by Śiva[33]. There are references in other Sangam poems to such philosophical disputations.

Maṇimēkhalai

The most striking example of listing systematically other schools of thoughts is found in the Tamil epic, *Maṇimēkhalai,* the date of which is not certain, but probably ascribable to 3rd 4th cent CE.[34] It is a Buddhist text in which the heroine, Maṇimēkhalai, visits different philosophers, and listens to the exposition of their systems. Enumerating the schools she listened to, the text mentions first six systems and their authors, which are as follows:

1. Lōkāyata- Brahaspati
2. Bauddha- Jina (Buddha)
3. Sāmkhya- Kapila
4. Naiyāyika- Akṣhapāda
5. Vaiśēṣhika- Kānāda and
6. Mīmāmsā- Jaimini

The text then details briefly their tenets. Besides these six schools, (which are considered Ṣhanmatas later), the text also says she met Śaiva-vādi, Brahma-vādi (of Hiraṇya garbha), Vaiṣhṇava-vādi, Vēda -vādi, Ājīvaka-vādi and Nighaṇṭa-vādi, who seem to have formed another group of six systems. As she was not convinced of their expositions she finally embraced Buddhism and became a nun.

Maṇimēkhalai says though they are not convincing systems, she is not refuting any, as it is not her mission. (Ch., 27)[35] Thus this text summarises 12 schools without any debate, and would thus constitutes an attempt to give history of philosophies, known to them then. But what is surprising is that it deals in long passages, the Naiyāyikās, Ājīvikas, Jainas (Nighanṭa-vādis), Sāmkhyas and Vaiśeṣhikas and Bhūta-

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vādis whereas the other schools like Śaiva, Vaiṣhṇava, and Vēda -vādis are only cursorily mentioned. There is no mention of sub-sects among various schools either.

Tēvāram hymns

The Tēvāram saints, have given references to Buddhist and Jains, and their life style in their devotional songs though in a negative way by ridiculing them.

Three texts of the Śaiva canon, belonging to the mediaeval period, 12th to 14th cent, deserve attention in this regard. They are *Jñānāmirtan* by Vāgīsamuni, *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyār* by Arulnandi-Śivācāryar 13th cent, and *Śivaprakāśam* by Umāpati-Śivam, of 14th cent.

Jñānāmirtam

Vāgīśa-muni, the author of this Tamil-text, hailed from Kodampakkam, a part of Madras and later moved to Thiruvorriyur, an outskirt of Madras, where he expounded *Sōma-siddhānta* school of Śaivam.[36] He wrote his work *Jñānāmirtam*, around 1175 CE which belongs to the Saumya school of Śaivam. The author refers to Lōkāyata, Mīmāmsa and Māyā-vāda, the last one was identified by one commentator as Śivādvaita school. The treatment of these three schools is not exhaustive in this text but gives only a bare outline.

Śivajñāna- siddhiyār

The second text, which is of great importance, is *Śiva-Jñāna-Siddhiyār* by Aruḷnandi Śivācārya. The Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school, was founded by Meykaṇṭa-dēva with his *Śivajñāna bōdham* in Tamil in the 13th cent. Aruḷnandi Śivam was his desciple who wrote an exhaustive treatise, expanding the *Śivajñāna- bōdha* . These two texts form the main plank of Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta. Aruḷnandi wrote his text[37] in two parts as (a) External schools and (*para-pakkam*) (b) own Siddhānta (*su-pakkan; Sva-pakṣha*). It is in part 1, the *Para-pakṣha*, he details various schools differing from Śaiva Siddhānta system. The later is considered the *Jñānānta-āvarana*, school, which emphasizes, path of knowledge. Consisting of 300 Tamil verses, it deals with views of fourteen opposing systems and refutes them in detail.

The following are the systems that are detailed.

1. Lōkāyata
8. Sautrāntika

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2. Vaibhāṣhika
3. Mādyamikas
4. Ājīvaka
5. Prābhākara
6. Māyā vāda
7. Niriśvara Sāmkhya
9. Yōgācāra
10. Nighanṭa vādi
11. Bhaṭṭācārya
12. Sabda Brahma vādi
13. Bhāskara
14. Pāncarātri

Among them are the four branches of Buddhism: Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣhika, Yōgācāra, and Mādhyamikas. The tenets of each system are first given in outline followed by point-by-point refutation. While most of the other schools are dealt with in detail Vaibhāṣhika, Yōgācāra, and Mādhyamika Schools are treated rather summarily in just two verses each. It may be seen that Naiyāyikas, and Vaiśeṣhika and other schools of Śaiva system are not dealt with at all in this text. However this may be considered as an exhaustive text that throws light on different systems that held the field in the 13th cent.

Sankalpa-nirākaraṇam of Umāpati

The third text of importance is *Sankalpa nirākaraṇam* by that great and prolific Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta exponent, Umāpati Śiva, who wrote that work in Saka 1235[38] (1313 CE). He mentions the date of this composition in the text. This whole work is meant to refute the opposing views like the *Para-pakṣha* of Aruḷnandi, but with this difference that he does not state or refute the well known opposing schools like Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Jaina, Mīmāmsa, (Vaiśeṣhika and Sāmkhya) as these are considered external *(purac-camayam)*. On the contrary he concentrates on the sub-sects among the Śaiva system. The following Śaiva sub-sects are thus detailed in the text and rejected.

1. Māyā vāda.
2. Aikya vāda
3. Pāṣhāṇa vāda
4. Bhēda vāda
5. Śivasama vāda
6. Sankrānta vāda
7. Īśvara Avikāra vāda
8. Nimitta Kāraṇa Pariṇāma vāda, and
9. Śaiva vāda

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Thus it is evident that by about 1300 CE, several sub sects among the Śaivas have cropped up, each emphasizing their own system. If one takes the work of *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār* of Aruḷnandi and this *Sankalpa-nirākaranam* of Umāpati, we get a complete picture of history of philosophy, opposed to the Śaiva Siddhānta school. Even *Sankalpa-nirākaraṇam* does not deal with Kāpālika, Mahāvrata and other such schools. The number of Sub Schools among the Śaivas treated in the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is far more than in any of the texts mentioned above.

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar on Āgamas

Some of the observations of Velli-ambala-vāṇar on Āgamas are interesting and of historic interest. The *Siddha-tantra* from which he quotes extensively is called an āgama (606). *Svacchanda tantra* is called at places as *Svacchanda Bhairava, Svacchanda lalita*, *Svacchanda-lalita-bhairava-mahā-tantra* at other places. That it is identical with the now available text is seen in a number of instances for example *Tattva vijñāna paṭala* from which he quotes is verbatim found in the available published text.[39] Virtually the entire *Svacchanda* text is cited all over this work that would enable one to take up a critical comparison and even edition of *Svacchanda* is possible. However it is not attempted here as it is outside the scope of this work. The following *paṭalas* of *Svacchanda* are mentioned in this text.

1. *Tantrāvatāra paṭala* (43)
2. *Gangāvatāra paṭala* (42)
3. *Dīkṣhā paṭala* (38)
4. *Prāsāda vidhi paṭala* (38)
5. *Śivaprāpti paṭala* (38)
6. *Tattva-vijñāna paṭala* (36) etc.

Svacchanda holds that Śiva-tattva is *sūnya* as it is the base of Laya-Śiva (*Laya Śiva adhiṣṭhāṇa*).There are many common factors between Svacchanda and Siddhānta Śaivam. Śiva is called Bhairava Sadāśiva, who is Rudra-mūrti who remains in Sadāśiva form and not in other Rudra forms. Bhairava is also identified with Srikanṭa-nātha Rudramūrti. The *Svacchanda* also holds that one who meditates on Svacchanda Bhairava dēva will attain moksha quickly. There is also variation in the *Dīkṣha* among the followers of the Bhairava School. Bhairava also had five faces. All schools proclaim that their Supreme has five faces. The Bhairava school also hold that Pāśupatas, Rudras and others fall under *pūrva pakṣhins*. The Āgama *Jñāna siddhi* is a Vāma Dakṣhiṇa Tantra bhēda.[40]

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Śrauta Pāśupatam was propagated by Upamanyu muni.[41] It was taught by Śiva to Śivā in accordance with Śruti. Nilakaṇṭa Śivācārya is a Vaidika Pāśupata. Pāsupata system is divided into Vaidika Pāśupatam and Tāntrika Pāśupatam. The *Sarva-jñānottara* is a Śuddha Śaiva āgama. It is also called *Yōga sāmkhya āgama*[42]. Some authorities hold *Sōma siddhāṇta* as a sub-sect of Kālāmukha system. At places Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar refutes Aghōra Sivācārya's views.[43] The teachings like Bhēda, Mukti etc are not found in contemporary texts.[44]

Matsyēndranātha Kaula

Regarding Matsyēndranātha's date attention may be drawn to the view of Gopimath Kaviraj, "Some Aspects of the History and Doctrines of the Nāthas"[45] Gopinath Kaviraj discusses the possible age of Matsyendranātha and seems to hold 12th cent as a possible date[46] though he also refers to 6th or 7th cent or even 1000 CE held by others. In the light of the present text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* the 12th cent date may have to be discarded. This text says that they belonged to the Kaula school of the Siddha's path *Matsyēndra nātha siddha matah kaulaka smṛtah*[47], who followed eight texts listed as

Mantrēśvara Śaiva,
Yantra Śaiva
Divya Śaiva
Ārṣha-gaṇa?
Arka Śaiva and
Yōginī Siddhānta.

A gap in the text unfortunately, leaves a lacuna in the list but it consisted of eight texts is made clear. The school is brought under Bhairava Śaivam. "*Bhairavasyāpi bhēdōsti*".[48] The adherents of this school reach the abode of Bhairava at the time of liberation.

Pañca mūrta are different from Pañca Brahmans;[49] the Pañca mūrtas are Śiva, Śakti, Nāda, Bindu and Sadāśiva, whereas Pañca Brahmans are Tatpuruṣha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, and Īśāna[50]

Thiruvaḷḷuvar is called Thiruvaḷḷuva nāyanār.[51] There are two schools, that bring *Vidyā Tattvas* and *Śiva tattvas* expounded in Siddhānta, under Vēdānta.

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Tattvarāya school brings these *tattvas* directly under Vēdānta, while the school of Nirāmayadēva includes them in their detailed exposition. So both Tattvarāya and Nirāmaya dēva were Vedānta Śaivas.[52]

The five sacred acts of Śiva *Pañca Krityas* are divided into three as *Sthūla pañca Krityam, Sūkṣhma Pañca Krityam*[53] and *Anugraha-Pañcakrityam* and Śiva performs *Sūkṣhma Pañca* kritya during the stage of *samhāra.*

The school of Nirāmaya dēva, who was an exponent of Vedāntic Saivism, is considered as "*Nimitta kāraṇa Parināma vādi*"[54]. Though it is mostly akin to Siddhānta, the Śiva Vēdānta is held to be a *Parināma vāda,* of the *Ekānma-vāda.* The work of Tattva-rāyar another school of Śiva Vedānta, in which one attains the vision of the guru- standing at the stage of Omkāra *(praṇava),* expounds 68 *tattvas.* The work of Nirāmaya Dēvar expounds 36 *tattvas.*

The text *Jñāna-siddhi* is an Āgama[55] *(Sakti Parināma vāda)*- Śiva himself is considered the guru svarūpa.[56] *Jñāna-siddhi* expounds Guru-pādukā at the end of detailing Kalā rūpas.[57]

Thiru-mantiram

The Tamil text *Thiru-mantiram* cited in this text gives the following Śuddha Śaiva lineage. The lineage begins from Para Śiva, and down upo Nandikēsvara, falls under divine origin.

Paraśiva
↓
Parā Śakti
↓
Sadāśiva
↓
Mahēśa
↓
Rudra
↓
Viṣhṇu
↓
Brahmā and
↓
Nandi

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Nandi taught this Jñānamārga to four sages, who were also called Nandis.

Nandi

Sanatkumārar | Sanandar | Sanakar | Sanandanar

This Jñāna school branched into two broad divisions – Vēdānta mārga and Siddhānta mārga. Besides these four sages, four other sages also received this knowledge from Nandi. They were Patañjali, Vyāgrapādar, Śivayōga māmuni, and Thirumūlar. Vyāghrapādar was the giver of Jñānāvarana school. (The other two were probably the originators of Śuddha Śiva yōga and Śuddha Siva jñāna schools) Thirumūlar had the following desciples; Mālāngan, Indran, Soman, Brahman, Rudran, Kanduru, Kālāngi, and Kañca malaiyān.

Jnāña mārga

How the main school of Jñāna branched are detailed below in charts.

1. Sanatkumāra (Kumāra bhagavān)

Vedānta mārga
Aṇḍadēvar Santānam

Siddhānta mārga
1. Meykaṇṭa dēvar (of the Śivajñāna bōdha school).
2. Malaiyamān dēvar santānam

2. Sanandar

Santānam (the name of this Santānam is not given)

3. Sanakar

Vedānta mārga
Meyjñāna dēvar santānam

Siddhānta mārga
1. Śivānanda dēvar santānam
2. Paramānanda nāyanār santānam

4. Sanandanar

Vedānta mārga
Svarūpānandar santānam

Siddhānta mārga
Santānam

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Among those mentioned, Śiva-yōga-māmuni is probably identical with Upamanyu-mahāmuni who is mentioned as the teacher of Vaidika (Vēdānta) Pāśupata system in many texts. The Pāśupata system is known as Pāśupata-yōga. Thiru-mūlar in his own work Thiru-mantram, states (in verse 102 of the Pāyiram) that eight maṭhas were established, including the one under his own name. The other seven were headed by 1) Kālāngi (Kālāgni), 2) Aghora 3) Thirumālikai dēvar, 4) Nādāntar. 5) Bhōga dēvar, 6) Paramānandar and 7) Nirāmaya dēvar. The works of Thirumālikai dēvar, Thiru mūlar, and Nirāmaya dēvar have survived and are in Tamil language. It is not known whether the others wrote treatises in Tamil.

A total of eight belonging to Nandikēśvara school are thus known.

Besides Nandikēśvara, Vijñāna-dēvar also known as Rudra-dēvar was the originator of another branch that gave birth to the following branches.[58]

1. Thirumāḷikai dēvar santānam
2. Velikaṇṭa dēvar santānam
3. Vāma dēvar santānam
4. Uttamanāthar santānam
5. Karuvūr dēvar santānam
6. Idaikkāṭṭu dēvar santānam
7. Thiruvaḷḷuva dēvar santānam
8. Śivavākya dēvar santānam

These eight and the eight of Nandikesvar santānam, making a total of 16 were called ancient Jñāna santānams.

A few later santānams that came up are also listed. They are.

1. Thiru neri santānam
2. Thirup perunturai santānam
3. Thiru malapāḍi santānam
4. Nirainta dēvanār santānam
5. Singanātha dēvar santānam

and so many others. These five were probably active during the 17th cent.

It is seen that eight Santānam lineages are traced to Nandikēśvara.[59] Of these three Santānam that came through Sanat kumāra had atleast two distinct branches as Vedānta school and Siddhānta school. Meykaṇṭa dēvar is said to belong to Siddhānta school. An interesting note says that this Meykaṇṭadēva of the Siddhānta school followed the *Śiva-jñāna-bōdha* mārga which suggests that there was a specific lineage

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before him that went by the name *Śiva-jñāna-bōdha mārga.* This is obviously identical with the Sanskrit *Śivajñāna bōdham* of Raurava āgama and that explains why he translated it into Tamil.

From other sources it is learnt that Meykaṇṭār learnt *Śivajñāna-bōdham* from Paranjōti munivar, who came in the lineage of Nandikēśvara through Satyajñāna darśi.

The other point of interest seen from this account of Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar is four out of the 16 Santānas that came out of Vijñāna dēvar alias Bhoganātha- were well known to Tamils as great Siddhas. They are Karuvūr dēvar, Idaikkāḍar, Thiruvaḷḷuvar and Śiva-vākyar. From this we learn they were also Santāna ācāryas. It may be noted that Thiruvaḷḷuvar, the great exponent of *Thirukkuraḷ* was recognized as a Śaivite Nāyanār of the Santāna Category.[60] Among the other notables, Thirumālikai-dēvar sang a delightful Thiru-visaippā poem on Śiva included in an anthology of Śaiva canonical text. The other lineages mentioned are otherwise not so well known.

The Dakṣhiṇa school is included as a branch of Vāma school. *(Vāma bhēdam* and *Dakṣhiṇa matam)*[61] Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar cites an interesting passage from *Cintyāgamam* which divides Śuddha Śaiva school into three categories as (1) Vāma śaivam, (2) Dakṣhiṇa śaivam and (3) Siddhānta śaivam. The school that follows the *Mūlāvatāra tantras* is called Vāma Śaivam; that which follows Svacchanda school is Dakṣhiṇa śaivam and the one that follows Āgamas like *Kāmika* etc. is Siddhānta śaivam.

Vāma dakshiṇa Siddhāntam Tridhātah Śuddha Śaivakam
Mūlāvatāra tantram Śāstram Yad Vāma Śaivakam
Svacchandādi Śāstram Dakṣhiṇam Śaivam ucyate
Kāmikādīni tantrāni Siddhāntam Śaivam ucyatē

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar seems to suggest that there existed a *Śaiva nighaṇṭu* that was cited in *Cintyāgama.*[62]

The Āgama like *Śarva Jñānōttara* were considered a branch of Śaiva Sāmkhya in the *Jñāna siddhi.*[63]

Veḷḷi-ambala-vaṇār has quoted the important part of *Navalinga lilai*, a Tamil text of the Vira-Śaivas. The *Kāmikāgama* also refers to *Gāruda śaivam, Bhūta tantra, Dakṣhiṇa śaivam,* and *Vāma tantra.*[64]

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Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar says Kālāmukha school was also called by some as Sōma Śaivam.[65]

The *Vātulāgama* according Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar is called a *Mahāvrata tantra*.[66] Wearing a linga on the body is also mentioned in *Kāmika* that speaks of Śuddha Śaiva. The *linga dhārana* is also prescribed for Mahāvratis and for Pāśupatas. Even as the Sri-Parvata mountain (now in Andhra Pradesh) is important for Viraśaivas, the Thiruvorriyur a part of Madras is very important for Mahāvratis.

The Tāntrika Pāśupata system is divided into three branches as Candra vāda, Sūrya vāda, and Sama vāda.[67]

The Vaidika Pāśupata system originally taught by Śiva to Dēvī, was propagated by saint Upamanyu (*Śrauta Pāśupatam nāma Śrutyanusārēna Śivāyai Śivēna prōktah Upamanyu ādibhih Pravartitah iti Jñēyam*).

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar holds that Nilakanta Sivācārya was a Vaidika Pāśupata. Also he says that Candra vādi were a branch of Pāśupata system, and Kālēśvara Vādins are a branch of Kāpāla Śaivas. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar says that Soma Siddhānta is a branch of Kālāmukha bhēda.

These schools are not now in practise says Veḷḷi-ambala-vaṇar[68] obviously these schools of Pāśupatas and Kāpālikas went out of existence by 17th cent.

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar says *Makutāgama* is considered Dakṣhiṇa Śaiva. The 25 Āgamas beginning from the *Kāmika* are divided into three as Dakṣhiṇa, Vāma, and Miśra. Among them Makuṭa is brought under Dakṣhiṇa branch.

The Yōga Śaivam is called Saha-mārgam. The Yōga-jñāna-matam, Parayōga-matam, Niṣhkala-yōga-matam, Paramukti-vāda-matam, and Śaiva Sāmkhya-Siddhānta-bhēdam are all synonyms.

The Vaidika-vedānta has *Jñāna sāmkhya* also known as *Kapila sānkhyas* as its limb, while the *Yōga Sāmkhya* is known as *Pātanjala sāmkhya*. Similarly there are Śaiva Śāmkhya a limb of *Karmāvaraṇa Siddhānta* and the Jñāna and Yōga Sāmkhya as limbs of *Jñānāvaraṇa Siddhānta*.

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Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar holds *Śiva-jñāna-bōdha* as a *Jñānavaraṇa Siddhānta āgama.*[69] That *Śivajñāna bōdha* (obviously the Sanskrit one) is called Āgama points to its importance and its place in Āgama literature.

Vīra Śaivam

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar, gives some important details about Dakṣhiṇa-mata Siddhānta. He says the Dakṣhiṇa Śaiva School, is now known as Vīra śaivas in modern times.[70] That the Vīra śaivas were recognized as Dakṣhiṇa śaivas in the time of Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar in 17th cent, who however does not cite any Sanskrit text, to outline the Vīraśaiva school. On the other hand he cites a Tamil work *'Navalinga Līlai'* in which the VīraŚaivas subsume the *Daśāvasthā* in their system. He cites as many as 92 Tamil verses from this text; an examination of the verses suggests the work is self contained and probably the text is complete. According to the editors of *Jñānāvaraṇa-viḷakkam*, this Tamil work is not found in other sources and is not available except in this form. Thus it is a rare text.

The first verse abruptly begins with the statement that "this text was originally taught by Śiva to Umādēvī on Kailāsa, which was taught to Basavēśvara by Prabhudēva in Karnāta language which was translated into Tamil by me"... name of the translator is not available.

The second verse says that this text was translated as expounded in the *Navalinga cakra,* and is appropriately called *Navalinga Līlai*. The same Śiva manifests in nine forms by internal divisions for the removal of pāśa of the souls shrouded in ignorance. The text mentions the nine *Tattvas* as Paraśiva, Parā Śakti, Nāda, Bindu, Sadāśiva with five faces, Mahēśa, Rudra, Viṣhṇu, and Brahmā.

The Ekamūrti (supreme) splits itself into three as guru, lingam and Jangama continuing to detail the tenets of the school, it mentions Iṣhṭa-linga, Prāṇa-linga and Bhava-lingas. These three branch into six as Acāra-linga, Guru-linga, Śiva-linga, Jangama-linga, Prāsāda-linga, and Mahā-linga. These six further undergo division due to *Tattvas* into 36 and further sub divided into 216.[71] These are *Śrotas*; crossing these six *Śrotas* one attains Jñāna-samādhi which is called "reaching the cave of Niraṇjana" (*nirañjānādi guhai cērdal).*[72]

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The *Śuddhākhya tantra* gives the following account of Vīra śaivas. Vīra śaivam is superior to all other Śaivam which is also called Vīra māhēśvaram. The worship of God is very easy and so is the process of worship.[73]

Vīra śaiva tantra is divided into three categories as Sāmānya, Viśēṣha, and Nirāhāra.[74] By touching the head with hand and wearing sacred ash, the addhrent's body is considered a Śiva-dēha. He is absolved of all sins. He should wear the linga given by his guru either on his head, neck, hand, forearm, heart, navel or in any one of these places. He should always be filled with devotion to Guru and Linga and worship it once, twice or thrice a day. These are the common categories.

The Viśēsha category consists of initiation by a guru, by invoking Śiva in a Kumbha and following the process of dīkṣhā. In this process consecration of Prāṇa linga is advocated.

The two categories of Nirāhāra consists of abandoning all worldly comforts but concentrate on Śiva in mind. He should wear a rag of cloth, a suffron cloth, Jaṭā (matted locks of hair) or shaven head, and of trees, staff and Śaiva signs. He should eat food obtained through begging moderately and reject all comforts and this observance is called Nirāhāri. Such an adherent is himself considered Parama Śiva (Supreme Śiva). Vira Māhēśvaras have some common code of conduct. They should devote themselves to the *Śiva mudrās*, with mind and material. One should never commit sin towards them at any cost. He should not be indifferent to a sin if committed by another person but if he is a strong well-built man, punish the wrongdoer. If he is not strong enough should move away from that place. He should constantly unite his prāṇa with the linga from the moment he receives the linga from his guru. Every breadth is linga for him.[75]

Ādi Śaivas follow *Aghōra-Śivācarya-paddhali*.[76] Mahā-Śaivas follow Kāraṇāgama;[77] Ūrdhva-śaivas, though perform *ātmārtha* and *Parārtha pūjās* and also Vēdic sacrifices, are different from Ādi-śaivas and Mahāśaivas. Among the habitations of Śivācāryas, Dakṣhiṇāranya identical with Tillai āraṇya is the abode of Ūrdhva śaivas. The Makuṭāgama followed by Ūrdhva śaivas, is a Dakṣhiṇa āgama.[78] They are Advaita vādins.

The *Śiva-Jñāna-bōdham* is considered an Āgama of Jñānāvaraṇa siddhānta.[79] The texts like *Mōkṣha kārikā* of Sadyōjyōti, and *Tattva prakāśa* of Bhōjarājā are

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considered *Advaitavādam* by teachers.[80] But Aghōra Śivāchārya treats them as Dualistic systems. The *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* was taught through *bhāvanā dīkṣhā* which is mentioned in *Rauravāgama*. The *Jṇānānta paribhāsha* cites *Śivajñāna bōdha sūtra*.

Śirasthānē padam āhṛitya prāṇato daṇḍavat guruh,
Bhāvanā dīkṣhayā cainam śuddham kritvā yathā vidhi,
Śivajñāna bōdha śāstram dadyāt patyādi antaram
Anugrāhyastu yah śiṣhyah Vārimāna kāya karmabhih
Artha prānābhimānāni sadguribhyō nivēdayēt.[81]

Śivavākya and Paṭṭinattu Pillai are *naiṣhṭikar*. Maraijñāna Paṇḍāram and Umāpati śivācāryār had knowledge of Saiva system but no Saiva experience *Jñānānta-anubhavam*.[82] Thirumūla-dēvar is called Thiru Mūladēva-śivācāryar and Meykaṇṭa-śiva as Meykaṇṭa-sivācāryār[83].

Tīvrabhēda śaktipāta was obtained in Saumya Śaiva, by Mahēśvara, Dēvī, Vighnēśvara, and Guha.[84]

Makuṭa, Dēvī Kālōttara, Suprakhēda, Sarva-Jñānōttara are *dakṣhiṇa* āgamas. The meaning expounded in them namely the Advaita system does not contradict Vēdānta.[85]

Bharadvāja, Mālānga and others who had mild Śakti-bhēda were taught *Mṛgēndra*, and *Mātanga* which are *Vāmāgamas*. They teach Dvaita system, that contradict what is taught in Vēdas and so they are considered *Pūrva pakṣhas*.[86]

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar discusses in a lengthy passage that the Sanskrit *Śivajñāna bōdham* is the original text and that the Tamil *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* of Meykaṇṭār and the Tamil *Śiva-jñāna siddhi* follow the original Sanskrit text[87] The original Sanskrit text is found in the chapter "*Pāśa-vimōcana paṭala*" of the *Rauravāgama* which is the "*Ādi sūtra*"[88] The original *Śiva-jñāna-bōdha* (in Sanskrit) was taught by Śiva.[89] Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar is following the *Jñānāvarana-bhāshya* in Sanskrit as his tradition which he cites. The Sanskrit bhāṣhya holds that Sanaka and others understood this Sūtra, expounded by "Śiva".

"Śiva vākyena pratiyāpāditatvāt, pañca rūpa upapannāt lingāt, paraih Sanakādibhih Jagatah Sakartrkāṛyam jñāyate"[90]

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Again the same position is asserted that the original *Śiva-jñāna-bōdha* was taught by Śiva.

"*Atra Śiva Jñāna-bōdhē harasya Prabhutva uktēh Jagat karṭṭtva anādi nirmala cidrūpakēna sarvajñatvādi śaktimatvam api siddham*".[91]

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar, says *Śiva-jñāna-bōdha* constituted an *upāgama bhēda* called as *Rauravottara* thus suggesting that itself is an āgama[92].

The *Svacchandra Tanta* text gives interesting data about Pāśupata[93]

It speaks of three schools of Pāśupatas Lākula, Mausala and Vaimalas and commentary on this verse by Kṣhēmarājā says that one school was established by Lakulīśa, and the other established by Lakuliśa's disciple Musalēndra. The difference between the two schools lies in the ultimate stage of salvation. The Lakulīśa school hold the adherent of the school will reach the abode of Īśvara, *Aiśvaram-padam* in which the emphasis seems to have been on *japa* and *dhyāna* (repetition of god's name and meditation)

But the Mausala school seems to have emphasized rituals *(Kriyā pradhānā)* and hold the follower will reach *Māyā tattva* considered the ultimate. The *Svacchanta Tantra* itself refers to this difference.

It evidently shows, very early in the Pāśupata School, may be in the time of Lakuliśa, or immediately after his passing away, there arose differences in Pāśupata system, headed by Musala. It is also seen that there were other schools that sprang up like Kāruka also mentioned in Svacchanda text. It seems that the Mausala school held that the ultimate stage was Kṣhēmēśa, while Kāruka held it is *Brahmā śrami.*

There were also other schools among Pāśupatas like Vaimala, who follow the rituals. The text *'Pañcārtha Pramāṇa aṣhṭaka'* and hold that Dhruva is the ultimate stage. This school is identical with Kapālavratins. Kāpālikas those who become pure through knowledge obtained by initiation, and observe *Kāpāla-vrata* till the end of their life, reach their salvation presented in their respective schools. Kṣhēmarājā says that Mausala and Kāruka emphasized only rituals, while Vaimalas emphasized *Jñāna* through *dīkshā.* They wore kapāla and bone ornaments as *Vrata* and this seems to have been prescribed in *Kakutāmnāya.* They also postulate *Tejesa* as the ultimate while the

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Lakuliśa school- *Īśvara tattva pada prāpti*; Mauśulah- *Māyātattva pada Prāpti* and Vaimalas- *Iśvara tattva tējasa prapti.*[94]

Bhairavam has also two broad divisions namely (1) the Vāma Bhairava and (2) Dakṣhiṇa Suddha Bhairava. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar cites extensively from *Svacchanda Bhairava text*. There is a long discussion by Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar, on the tenets of Svacchanda, the *prāsāda vidhi paṭala* referring to it as *Svacchanda Śiva prāpti*. Svacchanda Bhairava is also called Sadāśiva Bhairava. The follower will also attain both *Siddhi* and *Mukti*[95]. The texts cite verses giving the āvaraṇas of Bhairava.[96] There are eight Bhairavas in the second āvaraṇa for Bhairava whose names and also places are also mentioned.

Kapāliśa - East.
Sikhivāhanam- South east
Krōdharājā- South
Vikarāla- South west
Manmatha- West
Mēghanādēśvara- North West
Saumā Rājā- North
Vidyārājā- North East.

Each of them has five faces, ten arms, *kapāla mālā*, twinkling anklets etc, Bhairavi should be seated on the lap of Bhairava, and should have the same form as Bhairava with a slightly gasping mouth, and graceful smiling face.

The text *Jñāna sidhi,* published here speaks of the two broad divisions of the Bhairava system as Vāma and Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava schools (p.46). Bhairava is also said to have five faces. The Bhairava school holds the Pāsupata, and Rudra systems as Pūrva-pakṣha.

The work also deals with three kinds of dīkṣhās in the Bhairava school. Different branches of the Bhairava Śaiva Siddhānta are:-

Lākulī

Vaidikī

Ādhyātmikī

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Atimārga and

Mantra

All these schools were also considered as *pūrva-pakṣha* for in worship they advocate *nara-māmsa* etc. A rare text named "*Bhairava Siddhānta Siddhi*" and "*Siddhānta rahasya*"[97] are also mentioned. As the school concentrates on achievement of mystic powers (siddhis) its aim is not liberation. Vāma, Bhairava and the Kaula schools reach *pisāca pada*. As in the case of Vāma and Bhairava systems, the Saumya Siddhānta is also a *tantrānuṣhṭāna siddhi.*

Śivajñāna bōdha is a sūtra text like the (Brahma) sutras of Vyāsa. The Tamil works *Śivajñāna bōdha* and the *"Sivajñāna Siddhiyār"* follow the original Sanskrit text as the source. (p.529) The authority attributed to the original source is equally applicable to its translation. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar repeatedly mentions that the Sanskrit *Śiva-jñāna bōdha* is the original text[98] (pp.578, 579, 581, 583). He also holds *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyār* also should be considered an *uddēsa sūtra*) He cites also from *Jñānāvaraṇa-bhāṣhya* in Sanskrit. It is important to trace this full text giving it the authority of the Sūtra literature.

End notes

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1. *Jñanāvaraṇa vilakkam and Mahā. bhāṣhyam.* Veḷḷi–ambala-vāṇar, Dharmapuram Adhinam, Vol. I, 1957, and Vol II 1959.
2. *The tenth year Sovenir* of Srila Sri Shanmukha desika Paramacharya Svamikal, Dharma puram, Adhinam, 1943, p.83.
3. *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyār in Siva-Jñāna-bodham*, Meykaṇta śastram, Dharmapuram Adhīnam, 1956.
4. *Jñānāvaraṇa-vilakkamum Mābāṭiamum,* of Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar, Dharmapuram, p.407, the following colophon is found.

   Dharmapura sthitē Śrī-jñānasambandha guru caraṇa nīṣhaṇṇa sainskāra vilasad. Akalamka muni bhagavadpāda hṛdaya sambaddha sadācāra upadēśa samprāpta. Śivānanda rasānubhava jāta varṇāsramātita niṣhṭa niṣhṇāta Satya jñāna iti prasiddha Rajata-sabhā-nātha yōgi viracita. Jñānāvaraṇa dīpikā vyākhyāna asphaṣhṭa-pada-bōdhanīyē sanmārga vivēkah"

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5. *Sarva darśana-sangraha* of Sayana Madhava Ed. Cowell E.B and Gough A.E., Parimal Publication, New Delhi, 1986. Also pub by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1986.

6. *Jñāna-siddhi* cited in this text, *Jñānā-varaṇa vilakkam - mābāṭiyam.*

7. Alexis Sanderson, "History through Textual criticism" in the study of Śaivism, Pancaratra, and Buddhist yogini Tantras, *Les Sourus des Temples,* Ed. Francoise Grimmal, 1FP, Pondichery, 2001.

8. *Kiraṇavṛith* – Bhatta Ramakanta's commentary on Kirana Tantra, Ed. Dominic Goodall, IFP, Pondichery, 1998.

9. Arunachalam M., *Guru Jnanasambandhar*, Dharmapuram, 1981, pp.85 – 86.

10. Ibid – p.86

11. *Meykanta Sāthram,* Pub. Dharmapuram, Preface, P V.

12. *Jñānāvarana viḷakkam* – P.421. (This text will be referred to in its abridged form as jv.

13. *Meykaṇṭa Sattiram* , 1956

14. J.v.p.581

    இந்த சிவஞான போதம் முதல் நூல் வழியே தமிழ் சிவஞான போதமும் சிவஞான சித்தியாரும் நடத்தலின் அந்த வடமொழியான சிவஞான போதம் இரௌரவோத்தரம் என்னும் உபாகம பேதம் என்னும் பக்ஷத்தாலும் வியாச சூத்திரம் போல பிறிதொரு நூலாம் என்னும் பக்ஷத்தாலும் மூலசூத்ரம் வேண்டுதலின் மற்ற உத்தேச சூத்திரமும் தானே சித்தித்தலின் அம்முதல் நூல் போல வழிநூலுக்கும் உண்டாம் என்க. J.v.p.579

15. *Śiva-Jñāna-bhāṣhyam* of Śiva-jñāna-yōgi, Śaiva Siddhānta mahasamajam, Chennai, 1936, p.73

16. *Meykaṇṭa Sattiram*, 1956, p.15

17. Ibid, p.16

18. Jv. p.297, p.333, and p.337

19. Surendranath Das Gupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, Five volumes, Motilal Banarsi dass, Delhi; 1975.

20. Ibid, vol.5, intro p.XI

21. *Sri Mrigendra Tantra–Vidyāpāda* and *Yōga-pāda*, with the commentary of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭa. Ed by Madhusudan Kaul Sastri, published by Meharchand Lakshman dass, New Delhi, 1982.

22. *Svacchanda Tantra,* with the commentory of Kṣhēmarājā, Five volumes, Sampurnānand Sanskrit visva vidyalaya, Varanāsi, 1992.

23. *Sri Svacchanda Tantram-* Pt. 11 with the commentary of Kṣhēmarājā, Pub. by Sampurnanand Skt. University. Varanasi, 1993, Patala 10, verses 676-681.

24. *Śuṣhka tarkāvalambinah* (10/1149);

25. *Svacchanda Tantram,* Patala 11, v. 74

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26. *Paramokṣha-nirāśā-kārikā* in *Aṣhṭa-prakaṇa* Ed. By Pandit Vraja vallabha Dwivedi, Sampurnanad Sanskrit University, Varanasi, 1988.

27. *Makutāgama, Purva bhaga*, Ed. S. Svaminatha Sivacharya, South Indian Arccakar Association, Chennai – 1977, Tantravatara Patala, Verses 16 - 22

28. *Sarva-darśana-Sāngraha,* of Sāyana Madhava ed Cowell E.B. and Gough A.E., New Delhi, 1986.

29. The *Śaiva Paribhasha* of Śivgra yogin. Text and Translation by S. Suryanaryana Sastri, Pub. University of Madras, 1982.

30. *Kularnava Tantra,* Ed. Sri John Woodroff, and M.P. Pandit, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Reprint, 1984, p. 35.

31. Ibid. pp. 30 - 31

32. J.v p.144

33. *Puranan̄ūru,* Ed. Svaminatha Iyer, U.V., Tyagarajavilasam Publication, Chennai, 1962, Reprint, Verse – 166.

34. *Maṇimēkhalai;* Svaminatha Iyer, U.V., UVS Library, Chennai, 7th Reprint, 1998.

35. *Maṇimēkhalai;* Murray S. Rajam Edition, Chennai, 1957, Chapter 27.

36. *Jñāṇāmritam,* of Vagisamuni with an ancient commentary (in Tamil), Ed. by Avvai S. Duraiswami Pillai, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1987, 2nd Edition.

37. *Śivajñāna siddhiyār* in Meykaṇṭa Sathram, Dharmapuram, 1956.

38. *Sankalpa nirākaranam,* of Umāpati śivam, in Meykaṇṭa, Dharma Puram, 1956. p. 316

"ஏழஞ்சு இருநூறு எடுத்த ஆயிரம்
வாழுநற் சகளம் மருவா நிற்ப"

39. Jv. p. 638, 867, 1051, 1106 etc.,

40. *Jñānasiddhi,* cited in Jv. p. 46,

41. Jv. p. 193

42. Jv. p. 329

43. Jv. p. 219

44. Jv. p. 219

45. *Notes on Religion and philosophy* of Gopinath Kaviraj, Ed. Gaurinath Sastri, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University; Varanasi, 1987- P.56-62).

46. Ibid p. 61

47. Jv. p. 48

48. Jv. p. 48.

49. Jv. p. 67

50. Jv. p. 67

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51. Jv. p. 75
52. Jv. p. 76
53. Jv. p. 99
54. Jv. p. 101
55. Jv. p. 114
56. Jv. p. 114
57. Jv. p. 116
58. Jv. p. 167
59. Jv. p. 167
60. Jv. p. 169
61. Jv. p. 169
62. Jv. p. 171
63. Jv. p. 173
64. Jv. p. 183
65. Jv. p. 184
66. Jv. p. 189
67. Jv. p. 189
68. Jv. p. 219
69. Jv. p. 329
70. Jv. p. 173
71. Jv. p. 181
72. Jv. p. 181
73. Jv. p. 189; 244
74. Jv. p. 244 the text pertaining to this school is called *Vīra māhēśvara – Tantra.*
75. Jv. pp. 243 - 245
76. Jv. p. 247
77. Jv. p. 247
78. Jv. p. 245
79. Jv. p. 291
80. Jv. pp. 311 - 329
81. Raurava cited in Jv. 421
82. Jv. p. 422
83. Jv. p. 423
84. Jv. p. 351

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85. Jv. p. 351
86. Jv. p. 351
87. Jv. pp. 578 - 579
88. Jv. p. 581
89. Jv. p. 583
90. Jv. p. 583
91. Jv. p. 585
92. Jv. p. 579
93. *Svacchanda,* vol. 5, Patala II, verse,.70
94. Ibid, patala X, 675 – 680 also, 1084 wherein Kapāliśvara is called *Bhūtīteśvara*
95. *Svacchanda,* cited in Jv. pp. 37 – 45
96. Ibid p. 44
97. Ibid p. 49
98. Jv. pp. 578, 579, 581, 583 etc., On page 583 he makes a specific mention that the Sanskrit Sivajñāna bōdhan is the original text or root text as "முதல் நூலான சிவஞான போத சூத்ரம்" and gives the first Sanskrit sūtra as

Strī pum napumsakāditvāt
Jagatah kārya darśanāt
asti kartā sa hritvaiva
srjatyasmān prabhur harah

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2

Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka

The original text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is not known to any other source apart from these citations in the commentary of *Jñānāvaraṇa-dīpikā*. It is a very lucid commentary mainly meant to be useful to an ardent student of Śaiva system.

The available text begins abruptly with "*Mantravāda*" also known as *Mantravāmi*, and deals with nine sub-sects of Vāma schools of the Śāktas. However from the first sub sect described it is seen that the original should have contained several chapters preceding the present portion as it mentions, "as described earlier" (*prāk ukta vartmanā*) in the very first verse.

The lost portion should have contained the name of the author, and perhaps his date and other biographical details, and may be details about other schools. The name of the author of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is not known. It is also not known whether the author has dealt with other schools of philosophy like Vedānta, Mīmāmsa, Nyāya, Bauddha, etc., as has been done by Sāyana Mādhava, the author of "*Sarva-darśana-sangraha*". The Śaiva Siddhānta School mentions traditionally the systems of other schools, and refutes them before detailing their own system. It is possible this text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka*, also had details about other schools, that have been lost. The name of the text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* "understanding all philosophical schools, warrants the assumption. What has survived is only the portion relating to Śaiva schools and a part of Śākta schools.

Sāyana does not seem to have known either the text or the author of this *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* for there is no mention of this text in his work *Sarva-darśana-sangraha* assigned to 14th cent. Sāyana does not confine his study only to Śaiva system

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though he treats three sub schools among Śaivas namely Śaiva, Pāśupata-Śaivam and Vīra-Śaivam. He gives other schools, like Bauddham, Ārhatam etc.

Date of Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka

The available text is, as mentioned earlier, found only in a Tamil commentary by Veḷḷi-amabala-vāṇa-tambiran. As he went to Varanasi and studied Śaiva systems there he should have had access to the vast body of Sanskrit texts on Śaiva systems there. The Sanskrit text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is evidently one such work he found at Varanasi, where it was available in 17th cent. Inquiries at Varanasi and other institutions of Sanskrit manuscripts yielded no result, as none of them are aware of such a text. It is either lost or still in some library yet to be identified. It is also not mentioned in any of the other ably and critically edited āgamas or commentaries published so far as for example the *Svacchanda-tantra, Kiraṇa-vritti, Aṣhṭa-prakaraṇa, Mātanga-pāramēśvara* with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭa etc. It does not figure also in the exhaustive bibliography listed by Sanderson in his recent article.[1]

Regarding the date of the composition, an interesting light is available in the text. At one place the author cites the author of "*Ratna-traya*" as his guru, and also cites two sūtras from *Ratna-traya*[2]. *Ratna-traya* was composed by Sri-Kanṭa-sūri, a disciple of the well-known Śaiva commentator Sri-Rāma-kaṇṭa I, who is considered different from Bhaṭṭa Rāma-kaṇṭa II, the son of *Nārāyaṇa-kaṇṭa.* Rāma-kaṇṭa I is assigned to the second half of the 10th cent.[3] Sri-Kaṇṭa-sūri, ought to have lived then and written his work *Ratna-traya* some time in the end of 10th or beginning of the 11th cent. So *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* should be assigned to a date closer to that period, probably to the beginning of 11th cent.

The "*Ratna-traya*" has a gloss by Aghōra-śivācārya who lived in the 12th cent. We may therefore conclude that this *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* was written earlier than Aghōra Śiva, in the 11th cent. As Sri-kaṇṭa-suri was a disciple of Rāma-kaṇṭa, he may be held to be a Kashmiri scholar or who had gone to Kashmir for study. As the author of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* does not mention Kashmir Śaivam or any of the well known Kashmir authors, it is likely he was a scholar from Central India, as seems to be indicated by his writings. The great Ācārya Abhinava-gupta holds Madhya pradesh as the spring of Śaiva scholarship.

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The Tamil commentator on *Jñāna-āvaraṇa-dīpikā*, cites extensively from the other text named *Jñāna- siddhi*. Though some texts with this name are available it is not known whether the cited text is identical with any of them. The author of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* mentions this text at one place. Obviously it must be identical with the text cited in this Tamil work.

It is pertinent to point out that the work *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* and *Jñāna-siddhi* are important for Art-historians to identify many unidentified sculptures of mediaeval India and also correct some of the identification already provided. For example the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* says that the Kālāmukhas should wear red sandal paste on their forehead and decorate themselves with *sphaṭika kuṇḍalas* (crystal ear pendents). The School holds Mahādēva as Rudra and not Bhairava. Everything emanates as an atom (*aṇu*) of Rudra who is the Primordial deity – Mūla-vigraha . Sadāśiva, the lord of the Universe, is eternal: Paśu are of three kinds while the bondage are also three kinds. Paśu adores Śiva for release from the bondage. The aspirant should observe austerities on days of *Aṣhṭami, Caturdaśi, Śivarātri*, and *Somavāra*. This system of observance is called *Kālāmukha-vrata*. Initiated by *Śiva-dīkṣhā* and by attaining *Śakti-pāta* (descent of divine grace) there arise equality in action from which the soul attains freedom. Lord Śiva shines as sun while the individual shines as a star. The unity of Ātma-Śiva-samyōga is called *para-mōkṣha*. The commentator Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar adds a foot note to this *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* portion saying Kālāmukha school is also known as *Sōma Siddhāntam*.[4]

Thiruvorriyur, a village near Madras and which is now a part of the city has an ancient Śiva temple that is celebrated by the Saivite Tēvāram Saints. It houses an interesting sculpture of Śiva -11th cent. The sculpture is seated in *Yōgāsana* pose holding his front arms in *chin-mudrā* like the *Dharma cakra pravartana mudrā* of Buddha images. The rear arms hold *trisūla* in the right and *kapāla* in the left. The upper part of the trident is broken showing only the lower part. This has led to wrong identification of the sculpture as Lakulīśa rarely seen in Tamil nadu. There is a similar portrayal in the original vimāna of the same temple, in the *grīva*, which shows all attributes in the same manner wherein the trisūla is clearly visible. I have shown that this is a form of Dakṣhiṇā-mūrti. Both from inscriptions and literature it is known that *Sōma-Siddhānta* was expounded in the temple of Thiruvorriyur in Chola times. From this text it is now possible to confirm that the sculpture represents Dakṣhiṇāmūrti the

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Supreme Deity of the Kālā-mukhas. There are other such identifications possible. The available text of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is summarized in the following pages.

This text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* is important from another angle. It focuses on five sub-sects among the Śaivas named after the sages Kauśika, Kāsyapa, Gautama, Bharadvāja, and Agastya. Among the different schools the Vaidika Pāśupata school receives long passages.

Introduction to Vāma school

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar provides valuable information about the Sākta system, before dealing with the Śaiva sub sects enumerated in the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* . The Śaiva school divides various schools of philosophies into two broad categories as "Inner school" and "Outer school". This division is also called in Sanskrit as "Subtle school" or "Inner school" (*Sūkṣhmam or ābhyantara*) and "Gross Outer school" (*Sthūlam or Bāhyam*). In each school, six systems are grouped. The external school consists of the following six schools:

1. Lōkāyata
2. Bauddha
3. Jaina (Ārhata)
4. Mīmāmsa
5. Māyāvāda (Advaita)
6. Pāñcarātra (Vaiṣhṇava)

The following six are broadly brought under Internal systems

1. Śaivam
2. Pāśupatam
3. Vāmam
4. Bhairavam
5. Mahāvratam
6. Kālāmukham

The Śaiva school mentioned at the beginning is called *Śuddha Śaiva* "pure Śaiva" and the rest five beginning with Pāsupatam are considered as *Aśuddha Śaivam* "Impure Śaivam". The "Pure Śaiva" system also known as *Saumya Śaivam,* "Benign Śaivam" is further divided into two parts as *"Karmānta Śaivam"* and *"Jñānānta*

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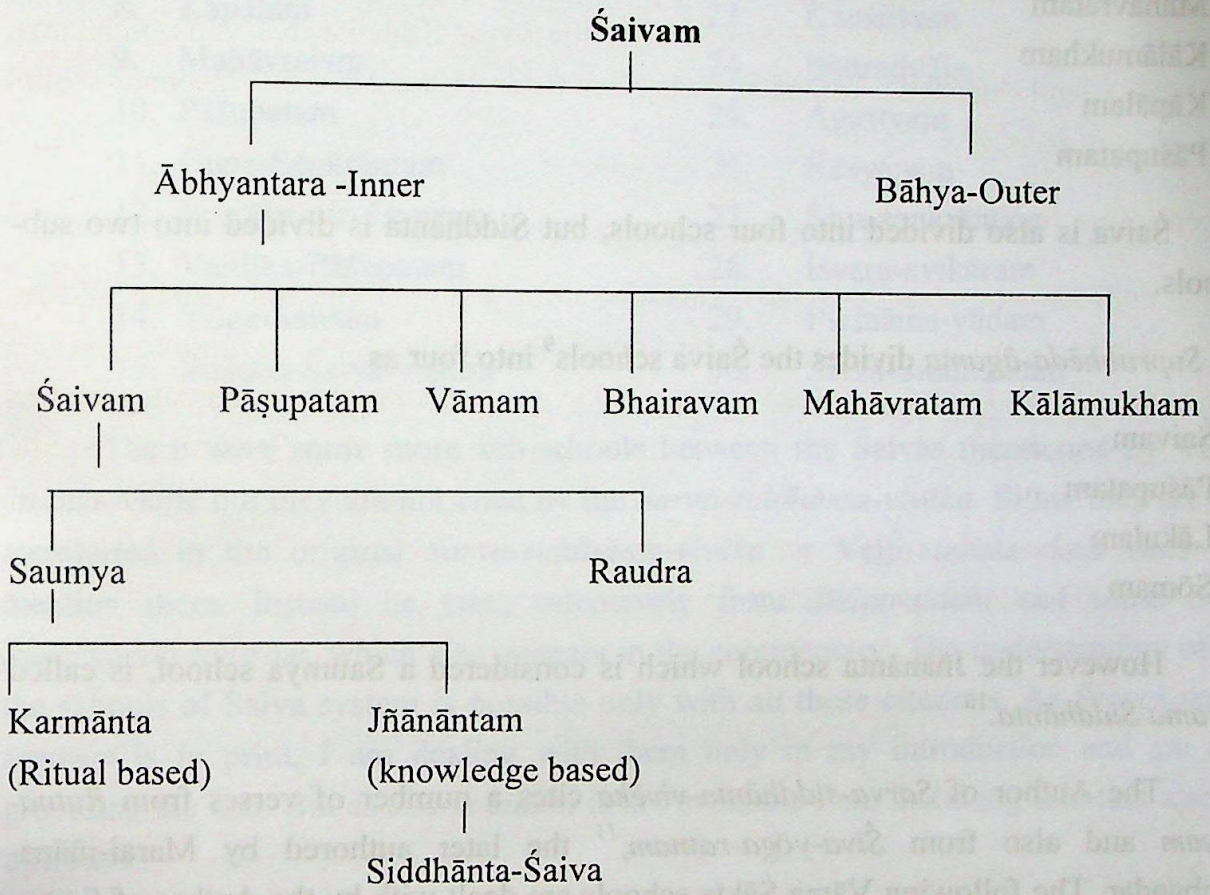
Śaivam", on analogy with the Mīmāmsa school called *Karma-mīmāmsa (Pūrva-mīmāmsa)* and *Jñāna mīmāmsa (Uttara-mīmāmsa)".*[5] The Śaiva Siddhāntis are the followers of *Jñāna mārga.* It may be illustrated in the following chart.



All schools of Śaivas, except Siddhānta Śaivas, are called *ābhyantara (Ahaccamaya).* The *Karmānta Śaivam* based on ritual is also clubbed with the other five schools that are counted as six systems and held *Pūrva-pakṣha*[6] by the Siddhāntins. There is also an alternative definition. The Kāpālika School is considered a branch of Raudra School and a separate sect and so it is counted with Pāśupata, Bhairava, Vāma, Mahāvrata and Kālāmukha schools, and designated as a Raudra school. The Śaivas (both *Karmānta* school and *Jñānanta* school) are counted together as Saumya schools, so the schools expounded by the Āgamas, beginning with *Kāmika* are considered *"Siddhānta Śaiva".*

The Āgamas are not uniform in their approach to classifications. For example the Āgama "*Acintya-viśva-sādākhya*"[7] divides Vāma (Śākta) school into three branches as "Eastern school" *(Pūrva),* "Western school" *(Paścima)* and "Beginningless" (*Anādi*).

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The *Acintya-viśva-sādākhya* also divides Dakṣhiṇa school into four sub schools.[8]

1. Mahāvratam
2. Kālāmukham
3. Kāpālam
4. Pāśupatam

Śaiva is also divided into four schools, but Siddhānta is divided into two sub-schools.

The *Suprabhēda-āgama* divides the Śaiva schools[9] into four as

1. Śaivam
2. Pāśupatam
3. Lākulam
4. Sōmam

However the Jñānānta school which is considered a Saumya school, is called *Parama Siddhānta.*[10]

The Author of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* cites a number of verses from *Ratna-trayam* and also from *Śiva-yōga-ratnam,*[11] the later authored by Marai-jñāna-sambandar. The following Vāma Śākta schools are dealt with by the Author of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka.*

1. Mantra-vāmi
2. Yantra-vāmi
3. Auṣhada-vāmi
4. Karma-siddhānta-vāmi
5. Advaita-vāmi
6. Dvaita-vāmi
7. Miśra-vāmi
8. Vāma-siddhānti and
9. Siddhānta-vāmi

Among the Śaiva Schools the following Sub-sects are detailed in the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka*

1. Kaulam
2. Drishṭārtham
3. Gāruḍam
4. Vāmam
16. Siddhānta-Śaiva-yōgam
17. Guṇa-Śaivam
18. Para-kaivalyam
19. Īśvara-Aikyam

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5. Dakṣhiṇam
6. Bhūta tantram
7. Kālāmukham
8. Kāpālam
9. Mahāvratam
10. Pāśupatam
11. Guṇa-Sankrāntam
12. Pravāha-nityēśvaram
13. Vaidika-Pāśupatam
14. Yōga-Śaivam
15. Śuddha-Śaiva-yōgam
20. Pāṣhāṇa-vādam
21. Bhēda-vādam
22. Sama-vādam
23. Kauśiikam
24. Bhāradvāja
25. Agastyam
26. Kāśyapam
27. Śiva-sankrāntam
28. Īśvara-avikāram
29. Parināma-vādam
30. Śaiva-Siddhāntam

There were some more sub-schools between the Śaivas mentioned by Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar but they are not cited by the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka*. Either they are not mentioned in the original *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* or Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar does not mention them. Instead he cites extensively from *Jñāna-siddhi* and some from *Svacchanda-tantram*, which also appears in the commentary. The understanding of all the schools of Śaiva system is possible only with all these citations. As *Svacchanda-tantram* is in print, I am dealing with them only in my introduction and am not providing the text. But as *Jñāna-siddhi* is not available I am including that text also in this book.

Importance of Sarva -siddhānta- vivēka

The importance of *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* may be gauged against this background. It deals with not less than 30 sub schools among the Śaivas that include Kāpālika, Kālāmukha, Sōma etc. As stated earlier the *Sarva-darśana-sangraha* of Sāyana Mādhava, deals with only three schools, Nakulīśa Pāśupata, Śaiva, and Pratyabhijñā School. The *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* turns out to be a very valuable text that throws greater light on Śaiva system that flowered in India by about 1200 CE.

The Vāma Śākta Schools

The Vāma and Dakṣhiṇa divisions of the Vāma school are also called the Sāmbhava school. The Bhairava school is called Dakṣhiṇa. There is a third category in this school called Miśra, which is known as Yāmalam that relates to the worship of Sapta-mātās.[12] Some schools of the Śaiva system are called by the Siddhāntins as

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"Inner-outsiders" (*ābhyantara-bāhya* or *Ahap-purac-camayam*) because they adopt a life style such as eating fish, meat and drink liquor which is not acceptable to the Saumya Siddhānta Śaivas. The Śuddha Śaivas do not include them among their groups.

Common factors among Vāma school

It has been stated earlier that following six systems are "Inner-outsiders".[13]

1. Śaivam
2. Vāmam
3. Mahāvratam
4. Pāśupatam
5. Bhairavam
6. Kālāmukham.

We have also noted that the Vāma school (Śāmbhava) and the Bhairava school *(Dakṣhiṇa)* are categories of Vāma schools. The third in the Vāma school namely Miśram *(Yāmalam)* is generally counted with the Vāma- Bhairava school.

The Vāma school is explained mainly with *Svacchandra Tantra* and *Ambā sthuti.*

Yantra vāmi : This school considering magical diagrams (yantra), follows the general tenets of the Vāma tantras but holds, liberation is possible only through it. *"Yantra sarva siddhi"* the acquisition of mystic powers is the main objective of this school. It lists the following eight great Siddhis.

1. Aṇimā
2. Garimā
3. Iśitva
4. Prāpti
5. Mahimā
6. Laghimā
7. Vaśitva
8. Prākāmya

They are achieved by

1. Karṣhaṇa
2. Sthambhana
3. Vidvēṣhaṇa
4. Mōhana
5. Māraṇam
6. Bhēdana

The follower of this school will acquire both *bhakti* and *mukti.* As Yantra is directly the manifestation of Śakti, Siddhi is obtained through it and not by other means, though mantra etc., can be used as auxilaries.

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Auṣhada vāma : By taking recourse to *Auṣhada* (medicines) that protects the body disordors one obtains a shining body. This school even holds that movement through space is possible by administering medicines. The school speaks of what it calls *'Kāya kalpa'*. On the whole we may say this school is dealt with rather cursorily.

Karma-siddhānta : It may even be called the school of fatalists. It holds no one can control birth, decay, comfort, suffering, old age and death. What is to happen will always happen. So one should act rightly, and act wherever one's mind goes. However one should not be lethargic in comfort or suffering.

Siddhānta vāmi : The Siddhānta vāmi school rejects the eight sub-schools mentioned, that are called external schools. In this text reference is made to 'Suddha śaivas' who are the "*Dakṣhiṇa Vāma Siddhāntins*". But as this school also advocates eating meat, fish, drinking, sacrificing human flesh as offerings etc the Siddhānta śaivas do not accept this school of *Dakṣhiṇa Vāma Siddhānta.* The Bhairava school is enumerated in *Dakṣhiṇāgama* which emanated from the Bhairava Īśāna face[14] (P. 21) The Bhairava school has eight sub-divisions and six auxiliary divisions (*upa bhēdas*), according to the *Jñāna-siddhi*[15].

Mantra vāmi The sub sect Mantra-vāma of the Śākta tradition, holds that reciting sacred hymns alone in preference to other modes will obtain liberation. The mantras used differently by them are *Namah, Svāhā, Svadhā, Vauṣhaḍ, Vaṣhaḍ, humpaḍ.* There are seven cores of such great hymns called *Mahā-mantras* employed in all sacrifices. All of them are different manifestation of power (Śakti). It is called "Mantra" because the word *manana* stands for all comprehending nature, and the word *trāṇa* stands for bestowing grace on worldly men. When both these functions of *manana,* and *trāṇa* are unitted it is called 'Mantra'. It is clear from this that when one practices Mantra sādhanā, by obtaining the knowledge of mantra first, salvation is obtained in Mantra-vāda.

Advaita-vāmi Advaita-vāmi holds that everything is a transformation of Śakti. Without such a transformation of Śakti, nothing exists either as *karma, Māyā*, world, soul, god, Śiva, Paśu, Pāśa etc. Man attains salvation by this knowledge, even if he is a murderer of Brahmins, drunkard or debauch. There is no question of salvation only through knowledge. The results of action (ritualistic action) do not disappear without being suffered. Not even crores of action can remove its effects. It is only an ignorant *(ajñāni)* who will say that liberation through knowledge is possible.

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Dvaita-vāmi: According Dvaita-vāmī school there are only three entities Śakti, Paśu, and Pāśa. Śakti is not one. The individual soul has all knowledge like Śakti but this knowledge does not shine because of association with beginningless impurities *(anādi-mala)*. One should receive initiation in *Śākta-dīkṣhā* from a guru in order to obtain knowledge and observe the Tantra taught by him. He should worship through *caryā* (observances) or yōga, or image worship of either various forms of Śaktis or Śakti alone. Such a person will certainly be liberated but not by rituals. Being liberated by knowledge *(Jñāna)* he shines with Śakti. He enjoys freedom from impurities (*su-nirmala*) and gains all round knowledge and righteousness, which are considered their Siddhānta. It is clear that though this school prescribes image worship, and right observances and yōga, it believes that liberation is possible only through *Jñāna*. In the ultimate state, the adherent attains all round knowledge *sarvajñatā* and similarity with Śakti but does not totally merge with Śakti. Hence the school goes by the name Dvaita-vāmi, dualistic Vāmi.

Miśra-vāmi: The mixed school of Vāmi, holds that the categories remain mutually separate from each other but are pervaded by Śakti. The main tenets of this school is that everything is Śakti, Śiva, his body, the concealment of knowledge, the soul, its body, and the worlds, are all forms of Śakti. The adherent should practice the path of *Śakti tantra*, should gather liquor *(madhu)* meat *(māmsa)*, fish *(matsya)* etc., perform image worship (*pūjā*), fire sacrifice (*homa*), repetition of sacred names (*japa*) or meditation (*dhyāna*) and by worshipping Śakti attains liberation. The liberated person becomes the abode of Śakti, *Saktyātmā*. Śakti becomes his *ātmā*. He is not separate from Śakti, but is dissolved in Śakti. He also does not believe in multiple lords (*anēka-īśa-vādam*) equal to Śakti. He is pervaded by Śakti as his *ātmā*, but is never equal to Śakti, the ultimate, and hence goes by the name *Miśra-Vāmi*.

Vāma-siddhānta: The adherent of the Vāma school accepts appropriate teachings of the eight Vāma āgamas (which are not listed). The instruments of cognitions are as described earlier (this early part is not available). Their categories are namely Śakti, Paśu, and Pāśa. The unparalleled Śakti, remains pervāding everything. The adherent, practicing Vāma and other (eight) agamic prescriptions, obtains *Śaktipāta* (grace of Śakti) of either the intense or higher intense catagory, (*Tīvra*, or *Tīvratara*), and attains liberation by *Sāmbhavi dīkṣhā* (initiation). This is further aided by *sad-upāya*, which means the right course; defined as right path (*san-mārga*), right knowledge (*sad-jñāna*) and right yōga (*sad-yōga*). The root of this system, which is

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grace (*Anugraha*), takes different forms. Śakti should be meditated as Sūrya, the supreme Power. This school, though not explicit, also seems to advocate liquor, meat, fish etc., as it directs the adherents to follow Vāma texts.

Siddhānta-vāmi: Accepting appropriately the tenets of Śāktam commonly told, this school holds Śakti as the creator of the universe, who sppears in thousand forms. Beginning from Parā-Śakti and ending with Kriyā-Śakti the mobile and immobile beings of the entire world are varied manifestations of that Śakti; crores of living beings, beginning from Mantreśvaras and others are all her transformation. The different sounds like "*Vas*" that separate the meanings, and various knowledge and the act of knowing, are all forms of Śakti. What ever exists including the world are the forms of Śakti. Even the form of Śiva is Śakti. The follower of this school should adopt the path prescribed in the nine basic āgama texts with meaningful understanding. One who followed earlier either the external schools like Vaiṣhṇavism or different internal Śaiva system like Bhairava schools and receives the grace of Śakti (*Śakti pāta*) through good merits, and commonality of practices, becomes eligible to achieve liberation by initiation (*dīkṣhā)* from a good guru in observances of *Vāma-tantra*, and also by understanding the religious observances like *caryā, kriyā* etc. Thus *Siddhānta-vāmi* does not reject the followers of other schools and states that there are certain common observances between them that give them the eligibility, but ultimately they have to accept the texts of *Vāma-tantras*, and be initiated by a Guru.

Dakṣhiṇa Śaivas

The aspect of Dakṣhiṇa system are demonstrated in texts like *Kāmikāgama*, to exhibit achievements of mystic powers visibly and invisibly, as there is a necessity to create confidence among people. It is for this purpose four different texts namely, *Gāruda tantra, Dakṣhiṇa tantra, Vāma tantra, and Bhūta tantras*, emanated from four faces of Śiva namely Puruṣha and other manifestations (Tatpuruṣha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta and Vāmadēva). These Śaiva schools are considered "down stream" (*adhah-śrōtas*) schools, expounded by such Murtis like Tatpuruṣha and others called Vijñāna kēvala (manifestations of pure knowledge). These texts were expounded in conformity with āgamas like *Kāmikāgama* as dependent texts.

Gāruda tantra: The Gāruda tantra among the four mentioned above, advocates the worship of Tatpuruṣha Brahman, who is the lord of the universe, by which *śiddhis*-mystic powers-are obtained.

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Kālāmukha: Kālāmukha's should wear crystal ear ornaments, smear their body with red Sandal powder, *putradīpa*. (there is a gap in the text at this point). Kālāmukha (the Aghōra face) should be worshipped with these emblems. The instruments of cognition are mentioned earlier. Pati, Paśu and Pāśa are the three entities that need to be comprehended. Mahādēva who is none other than Rudra and not Bhairava, is the Pati (lord). As he does not manifest independently with out Rudrāmśa this Rudra Mahādēva alone assumes forms like Dakṣhiṇāmūrti who is the main deity *(mūla-vigraha)*. He is Sadāśiva, eternal *(nitya)*, auspicious *(Śiva)*, and the universal lord *(Jagat-pati)*. Depending upon his functions, he is called by different names.

Pāśas, Mala and *Māyā*, as mentioned earlier are different. The world appears as a result of *Māyā*. Śiva is worshipped for release from the bondage of *Pāśa*. The Kālāmukhas worship Śiva on *aṣhṭami* day (8th day of the fortnight), *caturdaśi*, (fourteenth day of the fortnight), on *Śivarātri* day of each month, and *Sōmavāra* (Mondays) regularly by fasting and other means. This kind of worship is called *Kālā-mukha-vrata*. After initiation with *Śiva dīkṣhā* and depending upon the descend of grace (*Śakti-pāta*) the individual becomes pure, when the individual soul shines like a star, while Śiva like the sun. The coming together of individual soul and Śiva is called supreme liberation, *Para-mokṣha*. This observance and path is called Kālā-mukha system.

Kāpāla School: The Kāpāla system follows the appropriate Kālāmuka texts in which the adherent guided by the *Kāpāla-Śaiva-tantra* and considering himself as Mahēśa at the end of *(samhāra)* final dissolution, dances in the great cemetery. The follower of Kāpāla school goes abegging with human skull in one hand, singing *Sāmagāna*. One who practices this Kāpāla mode of observance is called Kāpāli.

Pañcārtha, purākalpa, Śiva guhya, pramāṇa, vyūha, ādarśana, padmā, kāraka, sailaka, nritta suduṣhprāpa and *siddhārtha*, which are difficult to obtain, are the fourteen means for achieving mystic powers. The Lākula school is then detailed. The three principles of this school are Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa. Mahēśvara who dances at the end of deluge in the great eometry is Rūdra, the lord of the universe. He is Sadāśiva, the omniscient and omnipotent lord. The ordinary souls are innumerable and are endowed with knowledge only. Śiva alone, has both knowledge and action not others. Karma and Māyā are the Pāśas. Ākāśa is called *taṭtva* (entity); Time (kāla) is Māyā. There is no difference between time and Māyā. One who desires release from bondage

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initiated through *Śivadīkshā* should perform daily rites as enshrined in *Kāpāla śāstra.* He should acquire extreme determination, be indifferent to praise and ridicule; follow the path mentioned earlier and eat food obtained through begging. Such a person attains liberation acquiring equality with Śiva. He does not shine like a star but like the sun; the liberation gives him omniscience different from the earlier stage. So he attains knowledge like Śiva.

Mahāvrata Śaivas: Mahāvrata Śaivas accept appropriately the texts of the Kāpāla school. The Mahāvrata has *kuṇḍika, kuṇḍalam*, snake, head ornament *(sikhā-maṇi), upavīta* made of (human) hairs, which are called the five mudras, the signs of Mahāvrata. The three basic principles in this system are Pati, Paśu and Pāśa; the instruments of cognition in this system are as detailed earlier; among all *pramāṇas* (cognitive process) the Mahāvrata is considered the best. The omniscient, omnipotent Sadāśiva is Pati, pure and blemishless, cause of all causes. Individual souls are many but possessed of knowledge alone. The omnipotence is only with the Lord Pati, not with individual souls. The bondages are only *karma* and *māyā* not ego *(āṇava)* accepted in other schools. One obtaining grace of Śakti, *(Śakti pāta),* should get initiated into the *Śiva dīkshā*, as specified in the *tāntra* of this school. The individual observing *caryā* (personal ritual discipline) and acquisition of knowledge get liberation. He should wear linga *(linga dhāri)* either on his head, neck, heart, or above the navel as prescribed in the śāstra. There is no use of *pūjā* etc. but wearing linga alone is sufficient to bestow liberation. He should show devotion towards all human beings and his guru, as he would adore Śiva. Even among these, devotion towards human beings, (jangamas), is considered the best. The Mahāvratin obtains salvation, within one birth by following the daily rites etc., as found in *Mahāvrata śāstra.*

Śiva-yoga mata

In the Śivayōga school, the adherents attains equality with Śiva in form. There are some schools wherein their followers believe that they either reach the same world as Śiva *(sālōka)* or proximity to Śiva *(sāmīpya)* but the adherents of those schools do not attain their ultimate longings. In this school *Śiva-yōga mata* which speaks of equality with Śiva in form, the follower attains "oneness with Śiva " (he becomes Śiva). Equality with Śiva means he assumes Śiva's form, which is also called one-ness with Śiva (*Śiva-sāyujyam*). *Śiva sārūpya* and *Śiva-sāyujya* are synonyms in this school. Accepting as many adherents can achieve Śiva-hood as possible does not lead

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invoked in the east, south, west, north and above. The four faces are as prescribed in the chapter on *arccanā* (worship) whereas the top one that is Īśāna will have no face but is made to manifest only through hymnal invocation. When one is able to steady his mind in that particular state it is called *Samādhi*. *Japa* is to recite its name; *dhyāna* is to meditate on that, which involves creating face to face relationship or visualization. This realization of the supreme state and cultivating the same is the ultimate, which is known as *Śuddha-śaiva-yōga.* The same process is also acceptable to other yogis who can follow their own system.

Anādi Śaiva Yōga

Anādi Śaiva yogis accepts the tenets from that which is suited to their needs. They hold the *śuddha vidyā tattvas* as inert beings that do not have the nature of Śiva. On the other hand *Nāda* is considered Iśāna Svarūpa, knowledge form and he is held Śiva. There is no knowledge of object without sound for human beings. Śivajñāna is obtained through śabda only (sound). That knowledge is obtained gradually from subtle to gross form. The mystic sound Omkāra, is created by *nāda* and *bindu*. The pure knowledge comes through pure path. The seed of knowledge is Omkāra, its lord is Īśvara, that is Sadāśiva composed of five *kalās* (parts) as a, u, m, *bindu* and *nāda.*

The *nāda* emanates from the great subtle entity (*mahā sūkshma*) and from the subtle form *bindu* originates. *Paśyantī* creates *ma kāra;* 'u' comes from *Madhyamā*, and *'akāra'* is produced by *Vaikarī.* In the midst of it is Mahēśa, Rudra, Viṣhṇu and Brahmā. From the five emanate the five great acts of creations, sustenance, dissolution, concealment, and grace, and for the five acts Brahmā and other Gods emanate. *Kuṭilā Śakti,* comes into being from 36 *tattvas. Kuṭilā* encompasses *Kunḍalī Śakti. Kunḍalī* emanates from *Praṇava.* Thus the creator of the whole world is Śiva who is nāda, which is considered his category. One is called pure Brahman and the other Sabda Brahman the later known as Sadāśiva. Sadāśiva is *Praṇava* the cause of everything. So one should meditate on Omkāra as mentioned in Vēdas and Śivāgamas. The yogins who desire salvation, always meditate on nāda, which is Śiva's supreme form. When the *Sabda taṭtva* merges with the supreme, yogins attain supreme liberation. When he attains that state he is called "Laya yogi".

The Vēdic scholars are hundred times more merritorious than Brahmins. Those who are initiated into the *Śaiva tantras*, are thousand times better than Vēda-vādins. The patron is superior to the initiates into Śaiva systems. One who wears sacred ash is

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superior to patrons. The one who performs worship to the Lord is thousand times better than the one wearing sacred ash; the one who knows *mantras* is far superior to all the Pūjakas. The one who knows the spiritual path is superior to the one who knows *mantras*. One who knows *Prāsāda* (mantras) is superior to the knowers of spiritual path. Better than Prāsāda Jñāni, Laya yogi is considered superior. Among the Laya yogins, the Prāṇa-lingin is great. Therefore this mode of practice should be known from the Guru. Those who follow this system are called Anādi Śaiva Yogi.

Siddhānta Śaiva Yōga

The Siddhānta-Śiva-Yogins accept whatever is suited from the common yōga system. There are three principles-Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. Pāśa is called an impure sphere that forms the wall of division. Human life is called Paśu, other living beings are considered without thinking faculty and so categorized as insentient. Enjoyment of pleasures is not possible without human life. If, however, they are referred to as their souls at places it is purely contextual, as the Śuddha Śaivas have defined this position clearly. The human self strengthened by Pāśa *(kalā)*, following the path shown by learning, enjoying through senses like *buddhi* and desire *(rāga)*, partakes all pleasures found in *tattvas*, beginning from Māyā upto the world.

The human being's are fond enjoying pleasures. It is *Śiva tattva* that induces them to enjoy the worldly life so much so *Śiva tattva* is known as *prēraka* in texts.

The individual soul realizes the worldly things not by their own powers but through Śiva's act. The five fold path of action of the Lord (Pati) called Śiva tattva, is based on the functions. *Jñāna* is *nāda svarūpa*, while *kriyā* is through power. When *Jñāna* and *Kriyā* are equal the *Sādākhya tattva* emanates. The Maheśvara tattva emanates where there is more of action than knowledge *(Jñāna)*. The *Rudra tattva* emanates when there is more yōga and less action. Rudra is also called *Śuddha vidyā*. Here the word Yōga that stands for knowledge is called *Śuddha vidyā*. The Śuddha Taṭṭva is eternal and is totally independent. Without actions the above categories do not exist.

Śiva is meditated in his multiple forms in this manner. He is Nirañjaṇa, Śānta, Sarvajña, and Sarvaga. Īśvara should therefore be meditated in these different forms. So among the five categories *(pañca-tattvas)* the prominance of Śiva and Śakti are recognized. In Śuddha Śaiva system Vidyā is recognized either individually or

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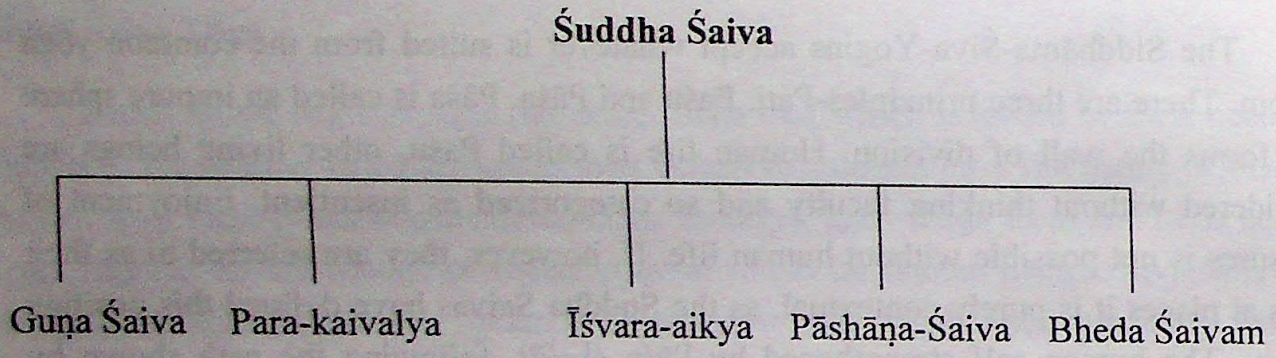
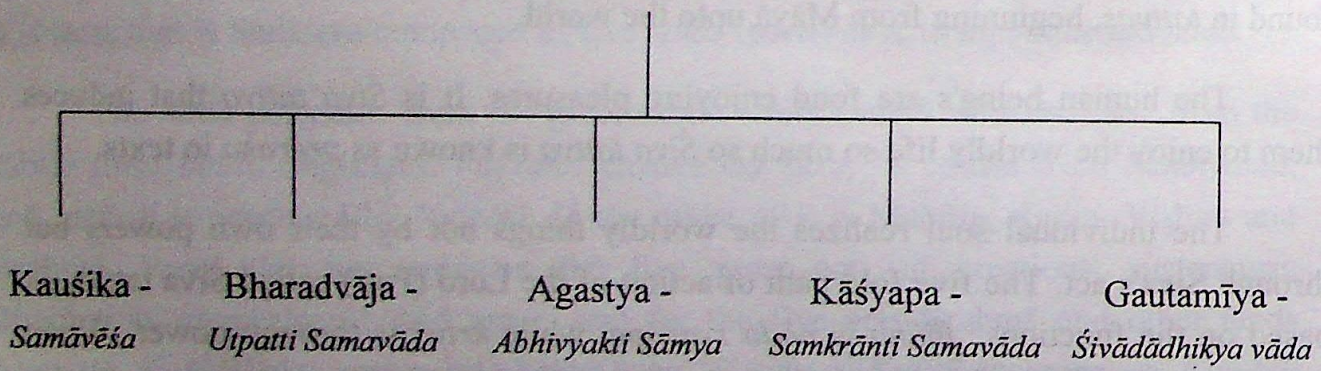
collectively. *Śuddha Vidyā* is golden in colour while Maheśvara is white and Sadāśiva is crystal in colour; *Bindu* is white, while *Nāda* is red. While meditating seperately they should be invoked in colours as above. Their collective form appears as a faded moon-light that shows everything. Śiva of this form has five faces and four arms, which should be meditated for liberation. The insentient beings that exist only help and so should be considered as Śiva's body. The Siddhānta Śaiva yōga is also called Ādi śaivam.

Śuddha Śaiva schools



Samavāda Śaivas



Guṇa Śaiva schools

Guṇa Śaivas consider the whole world is permeated by *guṇas- sattva, rajas* and *tamas.* Salvation for the adherents of this system comes through the worship of Trimūrti. This school is considered a branch of Śuddha-Śaiva. In fact they are none other than Śuddha Śaivas. There is nothing in this world, which has not got the *guṇas,* either alone or in combination with other *guṇas.* The text *Mṛgendra śāstra* clearly states that the whole world is pervaded by *guṇas. Pradhāna* in this school is the cause of action. Pāśa is that which shrouds the intellect *(tirōdhāyi).* Paśus are called Sakalas. From Gods to trees and plants are considered of *Vijñāna - pralaya- kalas.* The creator

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of the universe is Brahmā-Viśhṇu and Rudra. The Pradhāna is said to be 24 *taṭtvas* and are for the enjoyment and salvation of humans. God wills. From *Pradhāna, Buddhi* emanates and that is the cause of the world. From the agitation of *Buddhi* comes egoism *Ahamkāra* in three forms. The subtle *Tanmātras* and senses are born out of egoism. From these subtle entities the five basic elements earth, water, air, fire and ākāśa are born. From these five elements the gross world comes into being; the unmanifest are 24 and Puruṣha constitutes the 25th tattva. Puruṣha performs only limited action, and has limited knowledge. Since he doesn't act fully he also creates enjoyments. So he is considered an independent entity, performs only limited functions and is atomic in state *(aṇu)* As he does not understand everything, he is considered ignorant. Salvation is attained only by the worship of Trimūrti. No other deities like Maheśvara etc are recognised here. In this school of Guṇa Śaivas, Rudra alone functions due to the possession of Guṇas; he dissolves the world, protects it and creates it. There is only one supreme that is Rudra. This concept is postulated in *Svāyambhuva āgama* and *Śiva dharmōttara.* So Rudra constitutes the 26th tattva. He is the ultimate cause of everything.

Rudra is born of *Pradhāna* and then Viṣhṇu and Brahmā are born. As they are the functionaries of pure acts, they are called pure Mahēśvaras. The Trinity equal among themselves are established as the gods for the sake of the world. By worshipping them, following their schools of text, salvation is obtained. Even Vaidikas attain salvation through Śaiva path. The Gods like Indra and others are the executors of their (Trinity's) orders. This system is described as *Guna Śaivam* in the text *Jñāna-siddhi*. The followers of the school wear *Jaṭācūḍa* (malted locks), wear sacred ashes, smear themselves with ashes and adore Trimūrti.

Para-mukti mata

This school called Para-mukti believes by adoring a formless supreme. The Para-mukti is obtained in the Śuddha Śaiva School by *Karma-āvaraṇa*. They accept whatever is appropriate from among the common texts mentioned earlier and recognize the three categories as Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. Pati is formless lord, who is absolutely pure. He is expressed through various words like *Apramēya*, *Anirdēśya*, Anaupamya, Anāmaya, Sūkṣhma, Sarvagata, Nitya, Dhruva, Avyaya and Īśvara. The meanings of these words are defined. He removes the bondage of individual soul who is considered *Aṇu;* the instrument through which he acts is Śakti which is sentient. His

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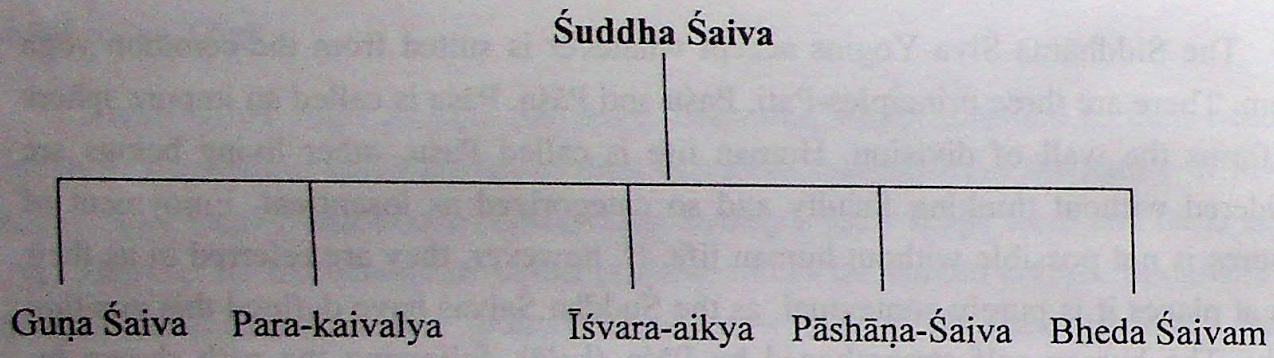

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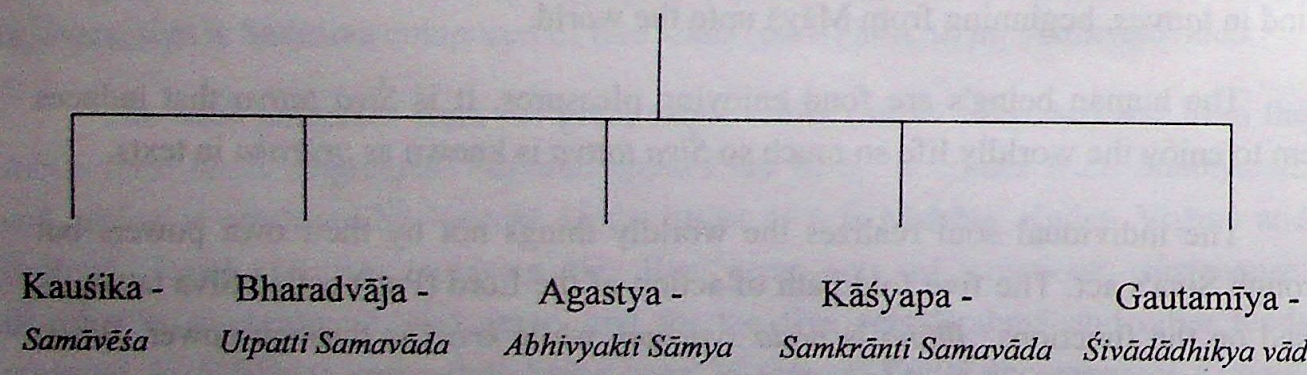

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body is made up of "Five mantras" *(pañca mantras)* which performs the five acts (Pañca-krityas-creation, sustenance, dissolution, concealment and bestowal of grace). These forms are Īśāna, Tatpuruṣha, Aghōra, Vāmadēva and Sadyōjāta (Aja). Time has no form and yet performs many things. Similarly though Śiva is formless, he performs action out of his own will. He assumes forms for helping yogins, and for creating all *tattvas* for the world. So it is said that he assumes form, it is not considered a blemish. The individual souls, called Paśu are eternal and all pervasive. They are categorized into three as Sa-kala, Pralayā-kala, Vijñāna- kala.

Innumerable souls who are sentient beings, are with forms and without forms. One who is covered by three impurities namely, *māyā, karma,* and *mala* is called Sakala. Pralayākalas are those who have only two impurities namely *mala* and *karma*. Those who have only one *mala* are called Vijñāna-kalas. They enjoy all comforts and joy by being in the body. The Pāśas are said to be of five kinds in this school as defined earlier. So if one achieves *Śuddha-adhvā*, pure state it is still considered bondage; when equality of action is attained, (*karma sāmya*) and Śiva's grace descends, the individual qualifies himself for initiation (*dīkṣhā*) from a Guru. Initiation is through the path of *aṣhṭānga yōga* and not through rituals *(karma-māyā)*. By this process one devotes himself to adoration of formless supreme and attains *Para-mukti,* Supreme liberation. The yogi need not perform rituals but turn his attention from external acts and concentrate on his inner vision. The yogi should meditate on formless supreme, which is like the outer space, a great void *mahā-sūnya*. Otherwise he would become a worldly man like insects among the heaps of grain. If one abandons Śiva who resides in his own self and worships him externally it is a useless exercise, like one having food in hand licks his elbow. Yogis see Śiva in their heart and not in idols, which are created for ignorant people. Yōga jñāna maṭta, Para yōga mata, Niṣhkaḷa yōga mata, Para mukti mata, and Śaiva sānkhya siddhānta mata are all synonyms.

Īśvara- Aikya- Siddhānta

Īśvara aikya means identity of the soul with Īśvara in this school, which also accepts common sayings of early schools. Īśvara is blemishless from the beginning in this school; the Individual soul is likewise blemishless; though he is also eternal like Śiva and pure he is without the power to create; Pāśa is considered four fold, but *āṇava mala* is not accepted in this system.

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Māyā is like *Kambuka*, and kalās are like *Tushas*. *Māyā* is the inborn impurity, *sahaja mala.* So the soul is covered with Māyā-mōhā and other impurities are considered, the qualities of *Māyā*, *moha, mada, naga, vishāda, sosluta*, *harshaka,* and *vaicitrya* are the seven inborn impurities *Sahaja malas.* Individual is pure from the very beginning and yet by the will of Śiva he is bound by the pure and impure acts of Māyā. The individual acquires merit and demerit (*puṇya* and *pāpa*) when there happens equality of *karma*, he attains *Śaktipāta;* and he is initiated into *jñāna-dīkṣhā* (knowledge initiation) by a Mumukṣhu or Naiṣhṭikācārya and is liberated in this system. Identity of the individual soul with Śiva (Śiva-aikyam) is *kaivalya-aikyam.* That is achieved through practise of formless meditation. The adherent should think of Śiva as supremely auspicious, formless, pure, lord, eternally joyful in the form of an effulgent luminary. He must abandon the idea that he is a Paśu (bound) and should consider 'I am Śiva'. He is liberated without any suffering. When he is liberated in course of time his form is merged with Śiva inseperably in *sāyujyam.* This inseperable union is like water dissolved in water. When he unites with Śiva, he performs his actions, enjoys his own nature untouched by *Māyā mala.*

Pāṣhāṇa Śaiva Siddhānta

Accepting appropriately what has been laid down in *Īśvara-aikya* school this system holds Lord (Pati) as an ever liberated entity, but the individual soul (*Paśu)* is inpure (*samalah*) bound by five bondages (*pañca Pāśa*) that are *mala, karma, māyā, tirodhikā-śakti* and *bindu.* When the soul is devoid of māyā it is considered fettered with inborn impurities. Māyā is called Mōhini different from *āṇava-mala*. Pati protects Paśu and Pāśa.

The soul that remains bound, approaches a knowledgeable guru when it attains equality in karma and receives *jñāna-dīkṣhā* also called *śāstra-dīṣkshā*. Ritual-initiation *(karma-dīkṣhā)* is meant for those who are too strongly embedded in bondage but *jñāna-dīkṣhā* is for souls with aspirations. By teaching *śāstra-jñāna* alone initiation is bestowed and not by other means. There is no sacrificial fire or fire-offering rituals etc in this process. *Jñāna-dīkṣhā* means understanding the tattvas through knowledge, whereas ritual initiation is through mind that should be avoided. Liberation is attained through knowledge, which is called *kaivalyam.* The worldly life *(samsāra)* comes as a result of ignorance *(ajñāna)* and men deeply embedded in worldly life are called ignorant men. A knowledgeable man escapes from *samsāra*

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(worldly bondage). One goes to heaven by simply reciting Vēda, but returns after hundred manu years whereas, one attains unity with *Śiva sāyujya* by Śiva-jñāna.

It is the dictum of Śaiva Siddhānta that Jñāna is supreme. There is no yōga equal to *Jñāna* and no *Vrata* (ritual observance) equal to *Jñāna* . There is no personal purity equal to *Jñāna* and no ritual equal to *jñāna*; there is no sacred centre like *Jñāna* and no penance equal to *Jñāna;* there is no sacrifice equal to *jñāna*. Similarly the soul achieves supreme liberation only through jñāna even in Vēdic tradition and not by even millions of rituals *(karma).* Therefore it is necessary that the guru should be a knowledgeable person and not otherwise. Such a guru is obtained by Śiva's grace. The Vēdas could be taught for those who are initiated but for the uninitiated Śiva bhaktas, *Śiva jñāna* should not be withheld but taught properly. When liberation is obtained, one remains like a stone. (*Pāṣhāna-vat*). The incoming impurities of soul are eradicated but the inborn impurities (*sahaja mala*) remain. All other pleasures and pains disappear except that of *mala* and that liberation means remaining like a stone which is termination of mental suffering in this system.

Bhēda Śaiva School

This school accepts the tenets of Pāṣhāṇa Śaivas but selectively and holds Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa are independent. Paśu- the individual soul is shrouded with *Āṇava mala*. By repetition of *mantras* and by receiving *Śakti nipāta* liberation is obtained through initiation and not either by *Jñāna*, *Yōga* or *caryā*. One who is initiated belongs to Śaiva caste. There is only one caste that is Śaiva caste and no other. This school does not accept that liberation comes only through *Jñāna*, but is attained by Śiva's *Śakti-pāta*. Those who devote themselves to Śiva through devotion *(bhakti),* among all castes, are eligible to receive this *dīkṣhā.* The devotee is equal to Śiva and Śiva is equal to the devotee in the Bhēda Śaivam, as liberation is assured for all living beings. Direct initiation is advocated for less knowledgeable human beings while for others liberation is immediate. So two kinds of liberations are recognized namely immediate liberation through *Nirvāna dīkṣhā* and the other liberation when the body dies. Extreme renunciation *nirvāna dīkṣhā*, itself is considered liberation for those who have adopted it.

Renunciation through *Vijñāna yōga* destroys sins committed knowingly.

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Yōga etc are observances or methods to achieve liberation, but are not mukti. Impurities can be destroyed only through initiation. Also it cannot be removed through *Jñāna* but only through dīkṣhā. *Dīkṣhā* can also be attained through sight- *cakuṣh-dīkṣhā.*

Sama-vāda School

This school contends that liberation is not only through *dīkṣhā* initiation but also through *Jñāna* etc. Śiva-pūjā confers eligibility for it. The initiates are also expected to follow certain observances (*caryā*). They have to do daily rites of the Śaiva system. The liberation that would come at the death of a body can be obtained only by observing routine rituals. When it is said that only initiation *(dīkshā)* confers liberation and not *Jñāna, Yōga*, or *Caryā*, it is only to praise *dīkṣhā* and not to dismiss *Jñāna, Caryā* and *Yōga.*

When one is liberated he attains equality with Śiva with six kinds of qualities *(guṇas)* that are *Sarvajñatā, Trupti, Anādi-bōdhah, Svatantratā, Aluptaśakti* and *Anantaśakti.* The liberated souls obtain these qualities equal to Sadāśiva. This liberation is called in this school *Para-mukti* that admits only equality with Śiva *(Śiva-sāmya)* and not identity.

Kauśika Siddhānta

The Kauśika school also called *Samāvēśa* school, has Mahipati as Rishi who was initiated by Tatpuruṣha face (eastern face of Sadāśiva). This school consisting of Āgamas, beginning from *Amsumadbhēdāgama* to *Vīrāgama*, was taught by the Tatpuruṣha face. A liberated soul is possessed of all auspices qualities, becomes omniscient, omnipotent and equal to Śiva. By following Yōga system that is detailed in *Vāyavīya samhitā* he appears as if possessed by Śiva.

Bharadvāja School

Bharadvāja School, also called *Utpatti-sama-vāda,* is found in *Sarvottara* to *Vātula āgamas* that emanated from the Sadyōjāta face. Bharadvāja riṣhi was initiated through sūtras. The liberation consists in this school of equality with Śiva, is created and not obtained through other means. The soul should abandon its old feelings and hold "I am Śiva" (*Śivōham*) considered Samādhi. Feeling that he is Śiva, the soul will become Śiva and this process is also called *Śivayōga.* By this process, the soul obtains

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equality with Śiva which did not exist before. It obtains all comprehensive knowledge (*sarvajñatā*) and other important dharmas from Śiva and is liberated in this life itself as *'jīvan muktah'*

Agastya School

This school promulgated by saint Agastya goes by the name, *'Abhitrskti samavāda'*. According to this school *Abhivyakti* which is a reflection is considered beginningless, and it emanated from Vāmadēva face. The Vāmadēva face initiated Agastya, who is a Brāhmaṇa Rishi. The individual soul reflects the six qualities found in Śiva by offering ghee with the ladle in sacrificial fire. When the reflection takes place, he shines like Śiva, the Brahman, called Saccidānanda rūpi, (existance, knowledge and bliss) *sad-asad vyakti varjita* (He is neither a manifest nor a non manifest) and *sarvagah*, omnipresent. So far as soul is concerned, there is no dispute about its existence and knowledge, that also experiences bliss. By action *(karma)* and knowledge *(Jñāna)* the soul also gains bliss. This school employs the words *samriddhih, paripūrti, vyāpti, akhandatā* and *tripti* as synonyms of bliss. This is detailed in "*Ratna-traya*" and also in Vēdāntas. Ones inherent bliss is obtained by samādhi. So the soul is also considered *Sat-cid-ānanda-rūpi*. The soul experiences its own bliss in the stage of Brahman realization, (*ātmānanda*). By this the individual soul obtains equality with Śiva (*Śiva-sāmya*) in all round knowledge and the six qualities of Śiva.

Gautamīya School

The Gautamīya school is called *Śivād-ādhikya-vāda* (Beyond Śiva). This school holds even Śiva is Paśu, because he is engaged in the five kinds of actions- *Pañcakrityas-* (creation, sustenance, dissolution, concealment and grace). He can perform these acts only by assuming a form and so bound by bondage as these are different actions. In the case of Sadāśiva there are two Pāśas namely *anugraha* and *tirōbhāva* (bestowing grace and concealment). Therefore Sadāśiva is considered the first Paśu. The liberated individual soul cannot create like Śiva for he reaches a stage beyond action. So this school considers that the soul goes beyond Śiva (*Śivād-ādhikya-vāda*) in the state of liberation.

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Kāśyapīya

This school known as Kāśyapīya is also called *Śiva-sankrānta-vāda.* It is expounded by Maharṣhi Kāśyapa. The five faces of Sadāśiva initiated the five Rishis Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gautama, and Agastya. Out of the Īśāna face emanated the Āgamas like *sahasrāgama.* Kāśyapa is called Brahma rishi, who was initiated by the top Īśāna face. The *Raurava āgama* calls Kāśyapa school as "*Sankrānti Śaiva*" This school accepts appropriately the Sama-vāda school, but holds Pati the lord alone as sentient, while other two Paśu and Pāśa are considered insentient Jaḍas, Paśu is not a sentient being but is eternal without guṇas, without actions and without lordship, and doesn't undergo change. However inside the body it shines like a light by its own brightness. It gets *yōga-siddhi* in the body. When it receives *Śaktipāta* through practise of *Prāṇāyāma* etc., through supreme yōga, and through the teachings of a good Guru, he attains *samādhi.* Through that yōga he is able to see the supreme in his own body as a reflection of moon in water. He obtains good knowledge and never returns to the state of Paśu, *paśutva.* In this stage though he is in the midst of objects and sound etc., they do not affect him. When he attains complete liberation, he is dissolved totally in Śiva, like salt dissolved in water. He loses his individual identity and becomes equal to Śiva. As Śiva himself is both in *Sakala* and *Niṣhkala* form, this liberation is also known as Identity, *sāyujyam.*

Śiva-aikya-vāda

This school accepts appropriately what is said by *Śiva sankrāntavādis*, but holds Śiva alone is the cause of the world. As the individual soul is also sentient the Pāśa alone is insentient in this system. The soul follows the *Pāśa dharma*, as it is totally bound by it. It enters the body by itself. In the presence of Śiva and with the help of āgama he acts by his own efforts, and enjoys all pleasures through intellect, *buddhi* and other senses. When *Śaktinipāta* is obtained through knowledge, practise, and understanding of the *tattvas* (principles) he abandons residing in village houses. He acquires *shadanga yōga,* discards *Paśu-bhāva* and goes after Śiva in exclusion. He sees Śiva in his conscience attains the abode of Śiva and meditates on *Pancākshara.* He reaches a stage, which is neither void nor non-void but Peace-śānti. He retires to an isolated place, abandons all bondages and obtains liberation.

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Śaiva Pakṣha

This school accepts the earlier system appropriately, namely that Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa are mutually related to each other. The soul is self-luminant and is of the nature of consciousness. He is shrouded by the beginningless impurities, enjoys pains and pleasures in his worldly life. When he attains *Śaktipāta,* Śiva himself assumes the role of Guru and initiates him and also teaches him how to get rid of *mala, māyā* etc., Attaining knowledge through that he loses the state of knower, known and knowledge. At that stage the soul and the supreme are united inseperably. There is no question of enjoyment as there is no existence of individuality. When the body dies, he becomes one with Śiva. He stands above all paths. He is not *sakala* with parts, performs all actions but has no beginningless impurities.

Pāśupata System

Guṇa- Sankrānta-vādin

The Pāśupatas, have ash *(bhasmam) (medhyam),* shoulder scarf, book, rag of cloth and waist band. These five are called Pāśupata-signs. Great men adore and observe this system. *Pratyakṣha* and other instruments of cognition have been detailed earlier. Among them the *Pāśupata āgama* is the best. The following sixteen texts enumerated in the *Dīptāgama* constitute the Pāśupata system.

1. Prājāpatya
2. Prabuddha
3. Kāśyapa
4. Bhārgavōttara
5. Vāsavam
6. Vārunam
7. Padmasamhitā
8. Pāramēśam
9. Pāśupata
10. Vaśiṣhṭa
11. Kalpa
12. Praphullam
13. Vāyavīyam
14. Bārhaspatyam
15. Varāha
16. Sadāgama

This system accepts the three entities Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa. The Paśus are considered omnipresent, but are bound by *māyā* and *karma,* by cause and effect, that are generated by their known action. At some stage and cause they develop self-denial *Vairāgya.* Then they take Śaiva initiation *Śiva-dīkṣhā* as prescribed in the Pāśupata system from a learned Ācārya, and obtain liberation and becomes equal to Śiva, *śiva-*

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sama. Orginally they were endowed with limited knowledge, but when liberated attain all knowing power. The one who obtained blemishless state and liberation attains equality with Śiva and *kaivalya.* All the qualities of Śiva, manifest in his soul, who is now considered a freed soul. Even if he does not act like Śiva he remains always in his own self. This system is called *Guṇa-sankrānta* branch of the Pāśupatas.

Pravāha-Nityēśvaras

There is another school named *Pravāha-nityeśvaras* that differs from the Sankrānti School. They consider the relationship of soul with Śiva as postulated by *Ekānmavāda*. They follow what is said in the Pāśupata system for the rest. The soul becomes Śiva when liberated and he begins performing celestial actions. Śiva retires from his powers and does not act then. When the individual soul becomes pure all guṇas of Śiva manifest in him. So he understands Śiva's actions like creating the universe etc., and performs them himself. It is like a father seeing his son intelligent and able to manage the family affairs, retires from his supervisory power, and becomes a recluse so also Śiva retires after entrusting his powers to the liberated soul. This school is called *Pravāha- nityēśvara*, Eternal Śivahood like a stream.

Śrauta Pāśupata

Śrauta Pāśupata system is also called Vaidika Pāśupata, which was taught by Śiva to Pārvatī in accordance with the Vēdas. Propounded by Upamanyu, the Vaidika Pāśupata system is very extensive. The best exposition is found in *Vāyaviya samhitā.* Like all other Śaiva system this also holds three entities as Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa. Liberation is considered *Utpatti-samavāda* in this school.

Āgamas are classified into two branches 1. *Śrauta* (Vēdic) and (2) *Aśrauta* (non Vēdic); the Vēdic branches are the very essence of Vēdas *(Vēda -sāra).* The non Vēdic branches are said to be independent *(svatantra).* The independent works are ten and eighteen (constituting a total of 28 in number) beginning from *Kāmikāgama* and so on, which are called the Siddhānta.

The Śrauta branch is a vast school with several hundred branches. The one that speaks of the supreme Pāśupata observance and knowledge is called *Śrautam (Vaidikam)* and this is detailed in *Atharva-śiras* (upaniṣhad) which holds that the supreme mode is in four parts as *caryā, kriyā, yōga and Jñāna*. Following this four

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fold path, the Pāśupata devotee will behold Śiva. Therefore in Pāśupata yōga system is considered the best observance. Srīkaṇṭa Śiva taught this system to Pārvatī. Among all the paths prescribed in Śaiva system, the singularly best practise is said to be the *Śrauta Pāśupata* system. Śiva who himself manifests in the cycle of yugas as Yōgācārya, expounds this system. Four supreme Riṣhis, Ruru, Dadhīci, Agastya and Upamanyu of great fame and called Pāśupatas, abridged this system and propagated the practise. Out of these four came hundreds of thousands of gurus in their lineages.

The Vaidika Pāśupata system, accepts three entities (Pati, Paśu, Pāśa), realized through *pratyakṣha,* and other instruments of cognition *pramāṇas* based on *Vedānta-vākyas*, which are interpreted through Viśiṣhṭādvaita tenets. They also briefly accept the principles relating to Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa, detailed in Āgamas like *Kāmika.*

The instruments of cognition like *pratyakṣha, anumāna, upamāna*, *āgama* and *arttāpatti*, are accepted as valid *pramāṇas* in Śrauta Pāśupata system like the Vaidika śaivam. Paśu is considered intelligent (*ajaḍa*) but Pāśa is non-intelligent while Pati is the controller (*niyantā*). Eminent teachers of this system describe these as immortal, mortal and immortal-mortal. Paśu, the individual (soul) is immortal (*akshara*), Pāśa is mortal (*kshara*) and *Pati* is immortal-mortal (*kshara-akshara*). These are also identified with Prakriti (*kshara*) Puruṣha (*akshara)* and Parameśvara is *kṣhara-akshara*. Prakriti is māyā-Puruṣha enveloped with Māyā is related to *māyā* through *mala* (impurity and action *(karma).* Māyā is also called the power of Mahēśvara (*Māheśvarī-Śakti*); the individual consciousness is enveloped by *māyā;* eradication of impurity is purification. (Puruṣha is identified with the form of consciousness, (*cid-rūpa*). Purity of consciousness is called Śivahood.

Though the individual soul is omni-present, it is enveloped by *mala.* Enjoyment of pleasures through action is the cause of this envelopment. When the *mala* is removed the soul returns to its original state. Five categories are recognised in this regard; they are *kalā, kāla* (time), *vidyā* (knowledge) *rāga* (passion), and *niyati* (?) these are attached to Puruṣha; meritorious and sinful acts result in happiness or sorrow; one takes recourse to Jñāna to enjoy the beginningless results till it is ended; enjoyment is for the termination of *Karma*; enjoyment is unmanifest; the body is the vehicle for experiencing enjoyment through organs of actions *(karmēndriyas)* and organs of perceptions *(jñānēndriyas);* the former being external and the later internal organs.

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The impurities are wiped out by deep feelings *(bhāva)* when grace dawns and with it the impurity of the soul is gone; he becomes one like Śiva (*Śiva-sama*). Vidyā fastens actions and sight as a string together; *kalā,* induces passions; *kāla* breaks, and *niyati*-induces. Unmanifest is the cause though it is overwhelmed by the three guṇas; those who are shrouded by pleasure or pain are divided into three catagries on the basis of three guṇas, *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas*, which arise due to natural causes. Pleasures and their causes are called *sāttvikas*, the opposite namely pain and causes of pain are called *tāmasa guṇas*. That which produces both is called *rājasa. Sāttva* is called the ascending path; *tāmasa* is called the descending path; while *rājasa* is called the middle path. *Tanmātras* are the five subtle elements, (sound, taste, sight, smell, touch); Earth, water, fire, air and ether are five basic elements; organs of knowledge are five, skin, mouth, eye, ear, and nose; organs of action are five, hands, legs, anus, generative organ; mind *(mana), buddhi* critical faculty and egoism *ahamkāra* and three gunas. By the combination of all these, that which is unmanifest is made manifest. When these *tattvas* are in causal state they are unmanifest but when in manifested stage, they are the effects. The soul called *antaryāmi,* which pervades everything, is different from intellect, senses, and body. Even eyes cannot see it. It can be perceived only by an illumined mind. The soul is a man, a woman or an inert being. The soul, which has no body, resides in a body that is mobile. One becomes an enjoyer of pleasure or suffers pains, due to his own action. The soul sees the body but the body cannot see the soul. All beings from God Brahmā to plants and vegetation are called Paśus. One who is bound by Pāśa (bondage) and enjoys pleasures or suffers pain is called a Paśu. He has all instruments of actions like Īśvara, but because of ignorance he acts like an animal. By the inducement of God he can go to heaven.

Pati is different from Paśu and Pāśa. (The text goes to enumerate the nature of Pati in a long passage citing extensively Vēdic and Upaniṣhadic passages). Pati is an endless beauty and possessed of endless guṇas. He supports the whole manifest and unmanifest beings of this universe. There is nothing that needs to be known beyond him. He is different from the souls of even Mahātmas. One who is ever engaged in truth and penance beholds him; he is one Lord who controls all these by himself through his various powers (Śaktis). He is the one Rudra and there is no other. Having created this universe he protects this and dissolves it. He eyes everything *(Viśvatas cakṣhuh).* He has faces everywhere; similarly he has hands every where and legs every where (*viśvato bāhuh viśvatah pādam ucyate*). He creates heaven and earth; he is lord of all gods and creator of all gods. He creates first Hiraṇya-garbha among gods. So

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Rudra is greater than all the universe and is called Maharṣhi. He is beyond darkness and is of the colour of the sun (*ādityavarṇan tamasah parastād*). He is subtler than the subtlest and greater than the greatest. He resides in the cave of human soul. One should know *māyā* as the Prakriti, and *māyin* is Mahēśvara. Having known him one attains supreme peace (*Parām śāntim*). Having known this lord of the universe, one is relieved of bondage of death. He resides in ones heart and having known him, one attains immortality. There is Śiva alone who is the embodiment of most ancient knowledge. There is no image of him (*na tasya pratimā asti)*. There is no name for him; he is immortal; he is unborn. Those who are afraid of birth and long for liberation adore the southern face Rudra.

This Viśvarūpa, Abhava (unmanifest) becomes Bhava (manifest) Prajāpati. He is Dēva-dēva, and lord of the universe. He remains in our consciousness and we worship him (*Sva-cittastham upāsmahe*). Those mahātmas (great men) who perceive him in their own self, they alone enjoy supreme happiness. This supreme lord created Brahmā and taught him Vēdas. Those who know this through their bright knowledge take recourse to Śiva. So the Maharṣhis through their penance and the grace of Lord reach the end of suffering (*duhkānta*) that is the teaching of Vēdānta).

The supreme lord of all the above is one. Three classification are attempted on the basis of place *(sthāna),* action *(kārya)* and delegated power *(adhikāra).* Upto the world *tattvas* (Jagat) is ruled by Sata Rudras; the *antariksha* is ruled by Indira and other dēvas upto the end of Mahā māyās. The Śaktis like Vāmas and also Bhuvanādhipas who rule these are the emanations in space.

There is nothing that needs to be done by the Supreme Śiva *(kārya).* He acts only for bestowing grace on the world. Various gods manifest to execute these graces on men through various forms. The various forms of gods are visualized for the sake of worship. (*Pūjārtham mūrtyātmā parikalpanam*). That which is offered to these different images reaches Śiva himself. Those who offer anything to linga or ācārya worship Śiva. It is for these reason we worship different images. Śiva bestows grace through those manifestations. Sadāśiva and other forms manifest only to bestow grace on earth. Rāga and other blemishes are present even in manifested images and yet they remain with them but do not affect Śiva. As Śiva is pure and is the soul *(ātmā)* of the individual, the duality is not accepted. Therefore this school considers that Śiva's

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manifestation in individual soul leads to inseparable unity *(advaita)* as taught by *Vēdānta vākya.* So individual is said to be equal to Śiva- (*Śiva-sāmya*).

Liberation is possible only for those who are practioners of this system, who have received *Śaktinipāta* due to the equalizing influence of the impurities of action, *karma malas* following *caryā, kriyā* and *yōga*. Only those who observe *Śaiva kriyā, caryā,* and *yōga* and are purified by *Śaktipāta* become eligible for *Nirvāṇa dīkshā* (ultimate initiation) and obtain liberation. The disciple is qualified to receive initiation according to the Śaktipāta, for only such initiation purifies the candidate. So without *Śivācāra* and *Śivajñāna* there is no liberation. So it is incumbant on the guru to examine the disciple for his knowledge and action. Guru's examination appropriately is essential for knowing the Śaktipāta for it is the instrument of bestowing knowledge of bliss. For *ānanda* (bliss) and yōga are the functions of inner consciousness. This attainment gives the practitioner a shiver in his body, limbs, horripulation, sound and eyes. The Guru should examine the disciple for such changes in body before initiating him. The *dīkṣhā* is so called because it gives *(dīyate)* special knowledge and eradicates the bondage *(kshīyatē Pāśa bandhanam).*

There are three kinds of *dīkshā* (initiations) mentioned in Āgamas namely *Śāmbhavī-dīkshā*, *Śakti dīkshā* and *Mantra dīkshā*. It should be understood that *dīkshā* is taught by Śiva himself. By the guru's sight, touch or speech, the disciple gets awakening and such an instantaneous initiation is called *Śāmbavīdīkshā*. This is again divided into two categories as *tīvrā,* and *tīvratarā.* The one that bestows immediate release is called *Tīvratarā* while the other is continued upto the end of the practitioner's life. The Śakti initiation is one in which the guru enters the body of the disciple through yogic means and bestows knowledge. The *Mantra dīkshā* is the one in which sacrificial altar is prepared, homa is offered and the initiation given lightly or more intensely suited to his capacity. A non-saivite initiate should not practise Śaiva discipline, *Śiva pūjā* or meditate on Śiva, as he will not obtain Śivahood. So one has to transform ones body into a Saivite body, abandon the feeling that he is bound by Pāśa (fettered), consider that "I am Śiva" (*Śivōham*) and perform *Śaiva-kriyās* actions.

There are five *'yajñas'* ritual practices, namely *karma-yajña* (action as ritual), *tapo-yajña* (penance as ritual), *japa-yajña* (repetition of Śiva's names as ritual), *dhyāna-yajña* (meditation as ritual) and *jñāna- yajña* (knowing as a ritual). There are practitioners of one or the other of these *yajñas* (rituals), but the ones mentioned in the

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above order are superior to the earlier ones. One who performs *Jñāna Yajña* will obtain *Śiva-sāyujya* (unity with Śiva) very quickly out of this five *yajñas;* practicing meditation *(dhyāna yajña)* one attains *Jñāna yajña* and crosses the ocean of worldly life samsāra. One who leaving aside Śiva who resides in his own self, worships him in outside images is like one having a fruit in his hand tries to obtain it by licking his elbow. *Śiva-jñāna* is obtained by meditation and so one should practise meditation on Śiva. One should meditate either on the top of the head, forehead, between the eyebrows; tip of the nose, neck, heart, navel or on the permanent seat, worshipping Śiva and Pārvatī dēvī. It is called *aṣhṭānga yōga* and by this, Śaiva awareness dawns and through it *Śiva Jñāna.* Śiva is pleased with such a practioner so that he is able to perceive Śiva. The liberated by this process becomes equal to Śiva. Whether in the ultimate stage, there is unity with Śiva or equality with Śiva is the question that is posed. If one attains unity with Śiva in the *Viśiṣhṭādvaita* mode, he again returns to action as in the case of *ekātmavāda* and gets into *samsāra*. So this system does not accept the concept of unity, but holds *Śiva-sāmyatā* i.e. equality with Śiva as the ultimate end. This system does not accept *Ekātma-vāda* or *Sankrānta-vāda* and accepts only equality with Śiva for the soul.

End notes

1. Alexis Sanderson *"History through textual criticism"* in *"His sources Et le Temps"* ed. Francais Grimal, Institute Francais de Pondichery, Pondichery, PP 1-47, 2001.
2. Jv. p. 322. *Ratnatrayādau gurubhih eva hi; gurubhih api tathaiva pratīpādyate. p. 321; sutras 47 and 87.*
3. Goodall Ibid, Introduction.
4. Jv. p. 184
5. Jv. p. 3
6. Jv. p. 2
7. Jv. p. 3
8. Jv. p. 3

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9. Jv. p. 3

10. Jv. p.3

11. Jv. p. 321 – 323 Verses of *Śiva yōga ratṇa* cited are 171, 146, 21

12. Jv. p8 *Vāmam hi sāmbhavam śāstram*
dakṣhiṇam Bhairavātmakam
miśram yāmalam ityuktam
Sapta mātr pradhānakam

13. Jv. p. 8 *Śaivam pāśupatam vāmam*
Bhairavam tu mahāvratam
Kālāmukham iti khyātam
antah samaya shdkakam

14. Jv. p. 21

15. Jv. p. 21

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3

Jñāna-siddhi

Jñānasiddhi, a text included in this volume is a rare work which may be called a lost āgama retrieved. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar Śvāmikaḷ has done a yeomen service by extensive citation from this text. From various references to this text in the commentary it is seen that it contained several chapters that have not been cited and what we have is only a part. According to Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar the *Jñānasiddhi* is an Āgama, counted among 224 secondary Āgamas, the 28 sub Āgamas and the nine main āgamas. It is listed along with the following Āgamas.

1. Jñāna sāram
2. Nirvāṇa sāram
3. Tattva dīpam
4. Tattva Siddhi
5. Tattva sāram
6. Candra dīpam
7. Yōga Siddhi

The text in its original format followed other well known Agamic texts in its structure. At one place it is seen addressing the goddess Haimavatīśvarī (p. 84). It is considered a text dealing with Vāma Dakṣhiṇa Śaiva branch dealing with the benign school of Bhairava mata. The names of the following chapters have survived as they are mentioned in the citations.

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1. Tantrāvatāra Paṭalam[1]
2. Jñānāvatāra Paṭalam[2]
3. Mūrtyamśa Paṭalam[3]
4. Śaiva Prakaraṇa[4]
5. Tattvāmnāya prakaraṇa[5]
6. Prāsāda prakaraṇa[6]
7. Bhinnā-bhinna-vivēkam[7]

The nine main āgamas on which this Vāma Śakta text is based are mentioned.

1. Kulārṇava
2. Kulōttīrna
3. Kula Sambhava
4. Kulāmṛta
5. Parānuttara āgama
6. Kaulikam
7. Kula śāsanam
8. Siddhāmṛta
9. Āmnāya Siddhi

The nine (mūla) mian āgamas are:-

1. Paratattva rāgam
2. Śivāgamam
3. Kālāgamam
4. Paratantrāvatāram
5. Śivasādhākhya prāsādam
6. Paramāgamam
7. Saktyāgamam
8. Dēva prāsādam
9. Śivājnā sāram

Though this text is mainly cited while dealing with Dakṣhiṇa Śaiva (Bhairava), school it is considered a San-mārga school (P. 65) almost akin to the great text in Tamil, *Thirumantiram,* and is mentioned as *Suddha Śaiva* system. It is also designated as *Vēdānta Siddhānta,* that it emphasizes.[8]

The *Jñāna siddhi* considers eight schools namely 1. Nyāya 2. Vaiśēṣhika, 3. Buddha, 4. Ārhatas, 5. Lōkāyatas, 6. Sāmkhyas, 7. Mimāmsā and 8. Vaiṣhṇavas as external schools, while the following eight are grouped as internal schools.

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1. Śaivam
2. Śiva Sammēlanam
3. Mahāvratam
4. Bhairavam
5. Śivādvaitam
6. Pāśupatam
7. Kālāmukham
8. Vāmabhēda

This Śaiva system is also divided in a different way into fourteen branches as

1. Ūrdhva Śaivam
2. Anādi Śaivam
3. Bhēda Śaivam
4. Guṇa Śaivam
5. Ājñā Śaivam
6. Avāntara Śaivam
7. Jñāna Śaivam
8. Siddhānta Śaivam (Suddha -Saivam)
9. Mahā Śaivam
10. Ādi Śaivam
11. Abhēda Śaivam
12. Aṇu Śaivam
13. Kriyā Śaivam
14. Yōga Śaivam
15. Śiva Śaivam

To this list is added Tattva Śaiva and thus totaling 16 in numbers, under *Dīkṣhā-vivēka*. The *Pañcākṣhara Praṇava-vivēka* states the three entities. Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa are common categories for all the Śaivas. Similarly the sacred ash *(Vibhūti)* and five *malas* are in all Śaivam. Among all the divisions Suddha Śaiva is considered the most important.

1. Ūrdhva Śaivas wear all their hairs into matted locks, smear their body with ashes, wear *rudrākṣha,* perform daily rites, and perform worship of Śiva. These are the Śaiva signs of Ūrdhva Śaivas, who emphasize *mantras*.

2. Anādi Śaivas practice *mantra* and *yōga (mantra yōgaparā)* emphasize right conduct and the meaning of *Varṇa* and *padas*, syllables and meanings; wear their hair into eleven matted locks; wear sacred ash and *rudrākṣha;* spend their time in Śaiva acts by attending on the guru (*susrūṣhā*) study Śaiva śāstras and be

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established in Śiva yōga, always move around practicing the three principles devoid of fetters, keep looking at Śiva images and practice penance daily and follow virtuous conduct. They are called Anādi Śaivas also called by an interesting epithat *Sthānupati yōgya akṣhārtha nirūpakāh* that means fix their mind on Sthānupti-Śiva, and prove the meaning of Akṣha, the eye-denoting that he was looking at an image of Śiva for meditation as a part of his daily penance. This would indicate that Anādi Śaiva is not a practitioner and not Śiva himself. The *Kāmikāgama* seems to hold Anādi Śaiva denotes Śiva himself.

3. Ādi Śaiva is an ācārya, who establishes the independent authority of the Āgamas, is a Tāntrika, Māntrika, and Yāntrika; is of good qualities, wears his hair into 12 jaṭas; wears sacred ashes and *rudrākṣha;* performs image worship *(Kriyā),* inquiries into the nature of truth; performs everything as enjoined in *Śivajñāna Śaiva Siddhānta*, and is desirous of attaining liberation.

4. Aṇu Śaivas wear their hair into twelve *jaṭas,* wear *rudrākṣhas* and vibhūti, devoted to the practioners of *caryā, kriyā, yōga* and *jñāna.* They emphasize devotion towards practioners.

5. Avāntara Śaivas, emphasize *Kriyā yōga* and *Jñāna yōga,* wear nine Jaṭas, ash and *rudrākṣhas*, hold Śiva as the doer of all acts, and attain the nature of Śiva at liberation.

6. Miśra Śaivas pay equal attention to *Kriyā* and *Pūjā* with their mind established in Śiva. They surrender all actions as a process of conduct.

7. Bhēda Śaivas, hold that everything is the manifestation of Śiva and Śakti, wears seven Jaṭas, ashes, and *rudrākṣhas* under all conditions. They believe that liberation is attained by reaching the abode of the lord.

8. Guṇa Śaivas wear a crest jewel *(śikhāmaṇi)* on his Jaṭas and hold that Trimūrtis emanate as a result of three guṇas. There is an emphasis on the three guṇas in this school.

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9. The Ājñā Śaivas emphasize the five sacred acts of Śiva (*Pañca-krityas*). They wear either three or five Jaṭas and prefer either *Pūjā (Kriyā)* or *Yōga,* hold devotion (*bhakti*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and determination (*vairāgya*) as important for performing *kriyā* and daily observance that leads to liberation. They consider that one should obey the order of Śiva, follow *Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga* and *Jñāna* through which they attain the abode of Śiva, *pada-mukti.*

10. Yōga śaivas wear five jaṭas, follow the eight fold observances of Yōga (*aṣhtānga Yōga*), wears *rudrākṣha,.* and *bhaśma*, perform daily rites, follow also *Śuddha Satya* that results in non-violance (*ahimsā*) and at the end achieves Śiva's form (*Sārūpya-mukti*) in every respect.

11. Jñāna Śaivas wear fourteen jaṭas, worship linga (*Lingārccanā*), wear rudrākṣhas, smear their body with ashes, eradicate five fetters (*Pañca malas*) and reach a stage of feelingless state and enter into samādhi with a view to attain liberation. They steady their mind, renounce the world (*Sanyāsa*) shave their head, and remain devoid of the three *triṣhṇās.*

12. Adhva Śaivas wear their hair into four jaṭas, worship lingas, wear rudrākṣhas and ashes, circumambulate temples, *prāsādas,* prostrate before the deities, perform daily rites, and hold reaching the abode of Śiva as the ultimate liberation.

13. Sāmānya Śaivas believe in *maṇtras* as prescribed in scriptures and believe that Paśupati and other manifestations are taught by Śiva. They may retain their hairs, wear jaṭas, or shave off their hairs, follow the four fold path of *Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga* and *Jñāna*, smear their body with ashes and wear *rudrākṣha.*

14. Śuddha Śaivas may wear jaṭas or retain their hairs, perform *Śiva pūjā*, wear *rudrākṣha* and ashes, get initiated into knowledge *Jñāna-dīkshā,* hold five 'gu' *(pañca guhas?)* and cultivate compassion and practice the four fold path *caryā, kriyā, yōga* and *jñāna.* The five *mudras* (signs) of Śuddha Śaivas are 1. *rudrāksha* 2. Sacred thread, 3. Tuft of hairs, 4. Upper garment, and 5. Sacred ashes considered the *Śaiva Vēṣha.*

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It is not clear from the available text whether these verses giving the *Mudrās* (signs) and observances of the fourteen divisions are part of the *Jñāna Siddhi* text or another text. Two other texts mentioned, giving the list of Śaiva divisions, are *Dīkṣhā-vivēka* and *Pañcākṣhara-praṇava-vivēka*. The first *Dīkṣhā-vivēka* gives sixteen divisions *(ṣhodasa)* among the Śaivites, while the later *Pañcākṣhara-praṇava-vivēka*, lists 12 divisions. The details of fourteen divisions mentioned are not from these two texts. It is also not clear whether these two texts form parts of *Jñāna-siddhi* or different texts. As mentioned earlier, several chapters of the *Jñāna-siddhi* are mentioned in the commentary of Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar, but these are not specifically said to be part of *Jñāna-siddhi*. However I have included these here so that further research on *Jñāna-siddhi* might clear the doubt.

The *Jñāna-siddhi* as mentioned says that the Śaivas are classified into fourteen divisions (*Śaiva bhēdam caturdaśa*) and later adds *Śuddha Śaivam* which would make the total fifteen. We may have to assume that the fourteen Śaiva divisions mentioned are external to Suddha Śaiva tradition, known as "internal- external" (*ābhyantara-bāhyas*). Out of the fourteen mentioned as Śaivas, details about the signs and observances of the Mahā Śaivas are not given in the text. Either the original *Jñāna-siddhi* did not include the details or Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇars, the commentator did not give that portion here.

According to *Jñāna-siddhi* the Śuddha Śaiva effects a unity between Vēdānta and Siddhānta (*Vedānta-Siddhānta Samarasa*). It holds that the three Vēdas, *Rik, Yajus,* and *Sāma* are meant for rituals- (*Karma-Kāṇḍa*) and are the form of the Vēdas. The end of the Vēdas namely Vēdānta expound the supreme nature of Para-Brahman and Jiva *(antaram Para Jivātmayoh aikyam Parātparam)* In order to obtain that tradition (*Sampradāya*) are expounded the ten states (*daśa-avasthā*). The respective path are prescribed for attaining the respective good path (*tattad-sanmārga-siddhyartham*). The Vēdānta teaches those Supreme knowledge (*Mahāvidyā*) for the respective systems. The unity of Vēdānta and Śaiva Siddhānta are superior to the (common) Śaivam. *Suddha Śaivam* should be understood as *Suddha-san-mārga*.

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Vedāntam Śaiva Siddhāntam dvayōr aikyam Śivātparam
Suddha Śaivam Śivasamvēdyam Suddha Sanmārga rūpakam

It should be understood that *Vēdānta Śaiva Siddhānta* is identical with *Suddha san-mārgam.*

The *Jñāna-siddhi* goes on to enumerate the *tattvās,* the process of creation, the Yōga system, and the ultimate liberation. The summary of the whole system is not attempted here but some salient points alone are touched.

The Parā (*Parai* in Tamil) emanated from *Parātpara* which is also called "cit". *Parāśakti* emanates from Parai. The three Saktis (*Iccā, Jñāna, Kriyā)*, will, knowledge and action emanate from *parā-śakti*. Between (after), *Icchā, Jñāna*, and *Kriyā* emanante; *Śivaśakti* and *Sadāśiva;* from Sadāśiva the six tattvas like *Nāda* and *bindu* emanate; from Sadāśiva emanates Mahēśa, from him emanates Rudra, and from Rudra comes Viṣhṇu, from whom emanates Brahmā. This is considered the order of creation. The reverse order is Brahmā, Viṣhṇu Rudra, Mahēśa, Sadāśiva, Bindu, Nāda, Parā Śakti and Para Śiva, constituting nine principles. The four principles above Sadāśiva (namely Parabindu, Paranāda, Parāśakti and Para Śiva) are generally taken together with Sadāśiva and hence the five principles are called generally Pañcamūrtis in Śuddha Śaiva.

The text also enumerates 96 principles, which are common to both Vēdānta and Siddhānta. The knowledge of these 96 *Tattvas* is necessary for attaining *svarūpa Jñāna*. The text also deals with the three basic *tattvas- Prakṛti Tattva, Vidyā Tattva* and *Śiva Tattva*.

Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar cites *Svacchanda* text which seems to be the *Svacchanda tantra* that has come down to us as for example that the *Gangāvatāra paṭala* cited is found in the *Śiva Tantra, tenth patala.*[9] Similarly the verses cited mentioning the origin of *Svacchanda tantra* cited by Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar is seen verbatim in the *Svacchanta tantra* that has survived.

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The *Svacchanda tantra* gives the *dhyāna ślokas* of Tatpuruṣha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, and Iśāna, their meditation and the fruits derived from their worship.

Kumkumābham ca nārēśam trinētram ca jaṭādharam
Pūrvānanam abhidhyāyēt vāyubhakṣhasya yat phalam[10]

Tatpuruṣha, called Nārēśa, faces east, is saffron in colour, three eyed and wears matted loks of hair. The devotee meditating on him, obtains immediate results. The fruits of his worship may equal several thousand Aśvamēdhā yāga. Kṣhēmarājā defines the term Nārēśa as *Naraṇām Iśvara-Nārēśa.* He is Tatpurusha Bhaṭṭāraka. If there was a variant reading mentioning Ardhanariśa in the place of Nārēśa, Kshemarājā holds that reading is not appropriate. He points out that Dēvī is said to be seated on the lap of the lord and the identification, as Ardhanāri does not arise. The meditator on Nārēśa obtains siddhis within six months.

The southern face, Aghōra called Bahurūpa is blue black in colour, wears reddish beard and moustache, terrifying face with uplifted brows, wears snakes and Kapāla as ornaments with hairs matted. He is meditated for the removal pain and pleasure and removal feever-Jvara and poisons etc. The one who meditates, shines like a glowing fire. He attains siddhis and liberation simultaneously.

The western face Sadyōjāta is white in colour, with three eyes, and holds *akṣhamālā,* and *Kamaṇḍalu.* He bestows divine siddhis, removes all sins and bestows siddhis like Animā, Mahimā etc and at the end becomes Śiva. His meditation is resorted to for expiation of sins *prāyascitta'.*

The northern manifestation of Vāmadēva face is like a reddish lilly *(rakta-utpala)* and is endowed with three eyes. The meditator, *dhyāni* will attain the power to attract the world. He attains the power of attraction in one year.

The fifth face on top, is white, holds *trisūla* and wears Jaṭādharā, snake as *upavīta* skin, and holds *akṣhamālā* and *Kamaṇḍalu, Vīṇa* and *damaru,* and linga on head. Kṣhēmarājā says the head will be in the form of a linga *(maulistham*

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lingākāram). Mahēśvara may mean Ēaka-Vaktra. It is the devotee who will attain all knowledge Sarvajñāna and attractive form in this life.

The *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* provides a slightly different account of worshipping the five faced Sadāśiva, under Gāruḍa and other Śaivas. It holds that the four faces are worshipped by those who aspire for worldly achievements for whom the four śāstras, Gāruḍa, Dakṣhiṇa, Vāma, and Bhūta Tantra Śāstras were taught by Tatpuruṣha and other faces and as such these are called *Adhas-śrotas* downward stream. The Tatpuruṣha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta Vāmadēva are Vijñāna Kēvalas. These texts are not independent authority but dependent on texts like Kāmikāgama.

Among them Gāruḍa relates to the worship of Tatpuruṣha. The worship of this deity bestows Siddhis immediately. The *Svacchanda* does not mention Garuḍa Śāstra but agrees with the result of worship, that would be conferred namely attainment of siddhis.

The South face is mentioned in *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* as Ghōra rūpa, and Para Brahman, would bestow cure from diseases, that are attained through *mantra* and medicines. This also is in agreement with *Svacchanda trantra* which however does not mention the text Dakshiṇa Tantra. The *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* states that the Vāma face should be worshipped with Vāma śāstra for achieving all longings and prosperity.

The text *Jñāna-siddhi* was probably available in full in the 17th cent for *Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar,* who has cited extensively from the same. It is mostly in poetic form but in two or three instances, prose portions are also found. Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar citations are interspersed with quotation from other works, both in Tamil and Sanskrit, the continuity is interrupted and in some instances only a part of the cited verse is available making it different to give continuous numbers. For facility of reference the number is given partially for such verses. In most cases Veḷḷi-ambala-vāṇar gives specific reference to the text from which he cites. When the citation is from the same text, he also mentions "in the above text" that helps in reconstructing the text. In one or two instances however doubt arises whether the citation is from *Jñāna-siddhi* or other text. Such instances are included in the text. The editors have done commendable job

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of transcribing the manuscript from palm leaf manuscript. Sri Rajagopala Sastri the editor of Sanskrit text has done great service in the Sanskrit portion and explains in the introduction the difficulties encountered in transcription. However there are a few misprints as well. I have corrected such passages. In some portions some parts that were missing have been reconstructed from the later portions, where definitions are provided.

As the portions cited relate mostly to Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava school, *Jñāna-siddhi* is found mostly in the Pūrva Pakṣha part. It is possible that the text in full may still be available in some library especially in Banaras region and when found would throw flood of light on the Saumya school of Bhairava worship.

It also cites verbatim or summarises in many places other texts like Upaniṣhads, Vēdānta or Purāṇas.

End notes

1. Jñānasiddhi cited in Jv. p.50
2. Ibid. p. 51
3. Ibid. p. 52
4. Ibid. p. 50
5. Ibid. p. 75
6. Ibid. p. 78
7. Ibid. p. 171
8. Jv. p. 56
9. *Svacchanda,* cited in Jv. verses 172 - 180
10. *Svacchanda,* patala 12, verse 125

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A saiva Ācārya, in the front mandapa of the temple at Survaya.

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1 Pārvat giving milk to the child Jñāna-samabandar who became the first and greatest devotional poet at the age of three and went on to sing 4000 Tamil poems that constitute the first book of Tēvāram. The Dharmapuram Saiva Matha was inspired by his name and all Pontiffs have this name attached to them. P. 87 (Photo R.N.)

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2 The Linga of Mahākāla, in the Sanctum of Mahākāla temple, Ujjaini. This main Linga is dressed differently at different times to present various manifestations of Śiva.

3 Mahākāla dressed as Aghora/Bhairava. P. 95-98

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4 The Linga of Mahākāla, in the sanctum of Mahākāla temple, Ujjaini, dressed as Ardhanāri. P. 96

5 The Omkārēśvar Linga under worship in the sanctum above the Mahākāla sanctum, Ujjaini. He represents the Sadāśiva Tattva. P. 96 (Photo R.N.)

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6 The main Image of Kāla-Bhairava at the back and the silver face of the same deity in front in the sanctum of the Kāla-Bhairava temple receiving worship, Ujjaini. P. 98 (Photo R.N.)

7 The Kāla-Bhairava image, represented by the face, made of silver Pl. note the mouth and the lips. See F.77. P. 98 (Photo R.N.)

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8 The main deity of Kāla-Bhairava in the sanctum of the temple of Kāla-Bhairava, Ujjaini. The plate in front is filled with wine that is offered to the deity. P. 98 (Photo R.N.)

9 The Image of Aghōra Bhairava at the root of the banyan tree, at Siddha-vaṭam, on the bank of the river Kshipra, Ujjaini. P. 103 (Photo R.N.)

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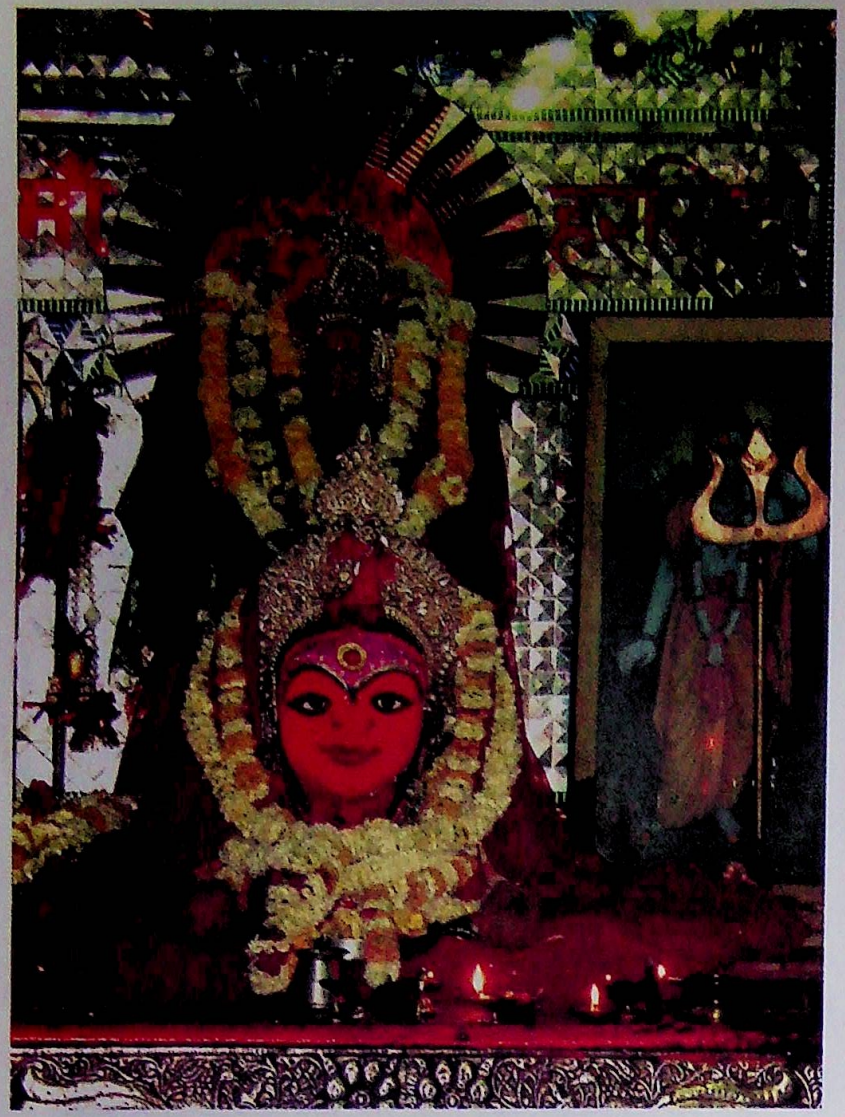

10 The main image of Goddess Hara-Gauri, inside the sanctum of the Hara-Siddhi temple, Ujjaini. She is a Saumya Dēvatā. P. 100 (Photo R.N.)

11 The main image of Ghada-Kāli, in the sanctum of the temple of Ghada Kāli. She blessed Kalidasa who became the greatest of Poets. She is an Ugra dēvatā. P. 99 (Photo R.N.)

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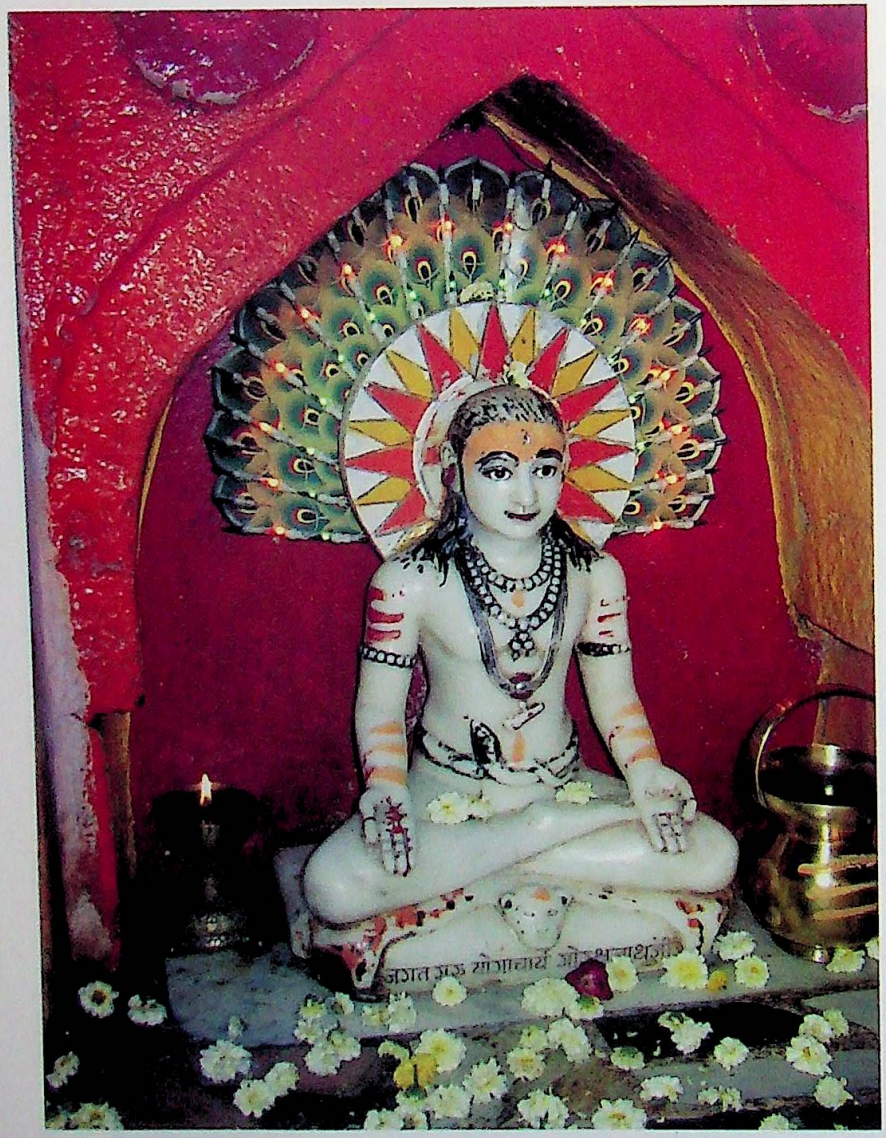
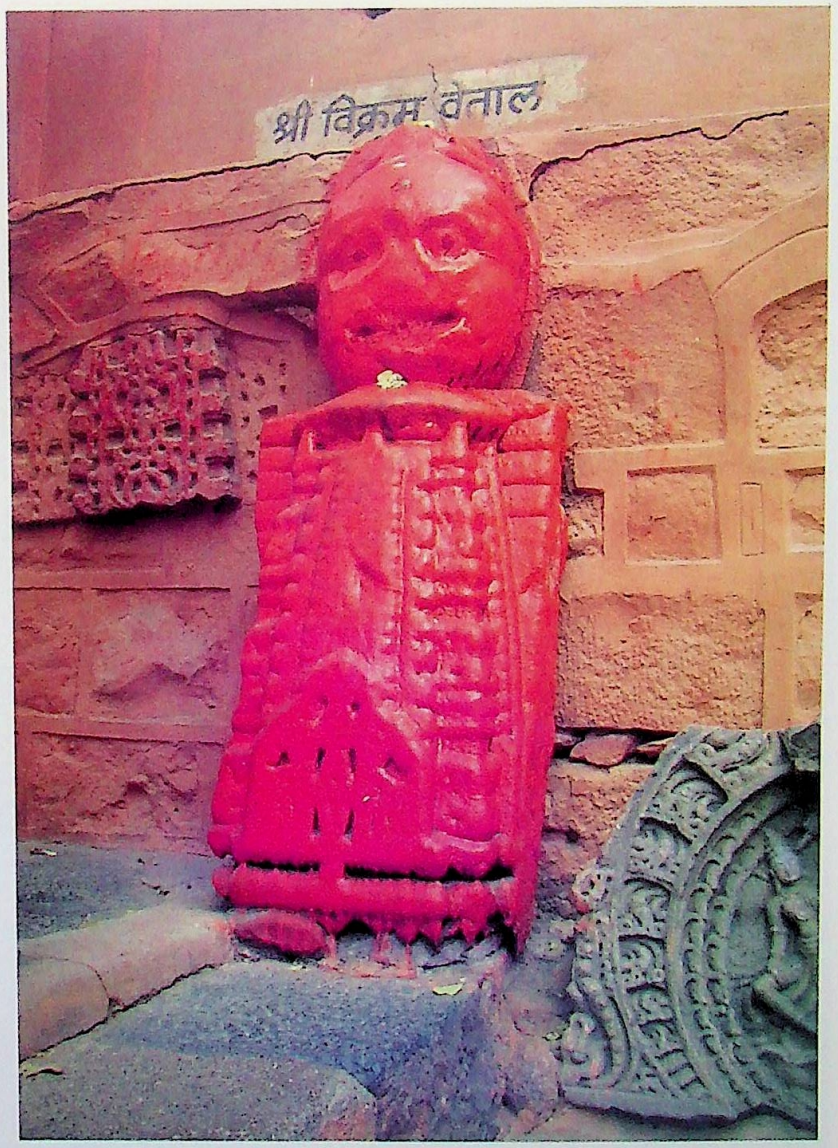


12 The marble image of Saint Gorakshanāth, in the temple of Goraknāth in the Bhartrhari cave complex, on the banks of river Kshipra. P. 99 (Photo R.N.)



13 The original Kāla-Bhairava image placed on an architectural slab now called Vikramāditya Vetāla in the Bhartrhari cave complex. P. 100 (Photo R.N.)

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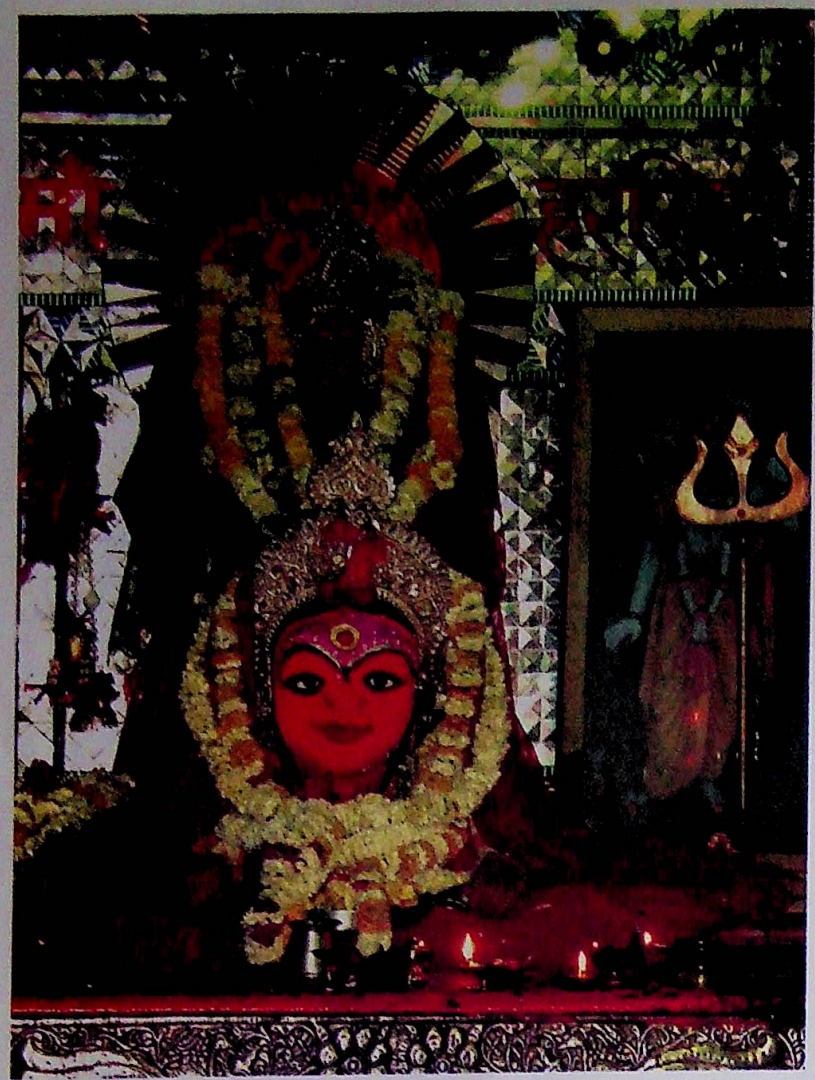
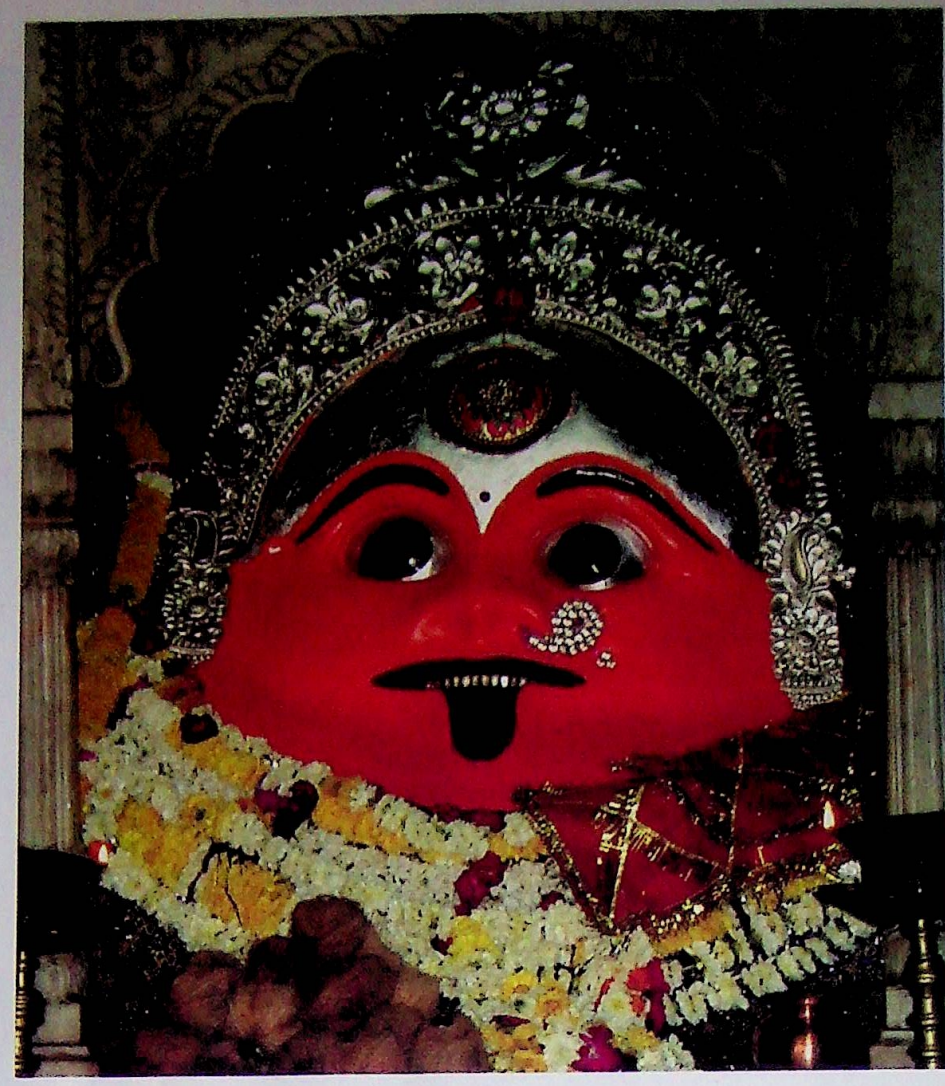


10 The main image of Goddess Hara-Gauri, inside the sanctum of the Hara-Siddhi temple, Ujjaini. She is a Saumya Dēvatā. P. 100 (Photo R.N.)



11 The main image of Ghada-Kāli, in the sanctum of the temple of Ghada Kāli. She blessed Kalidasa who became the greatest of Poets. She is an Ugra dēvatā. P. 99 (Photo R.N.)

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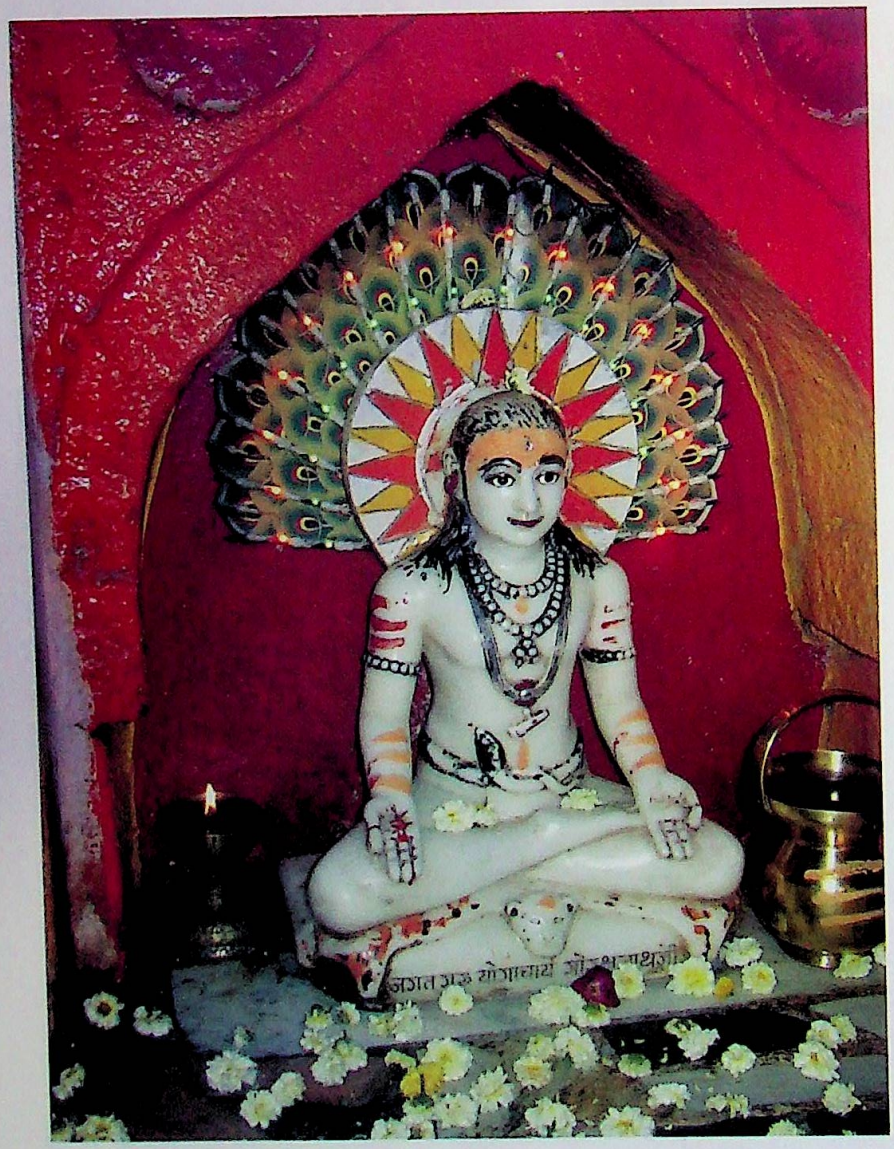
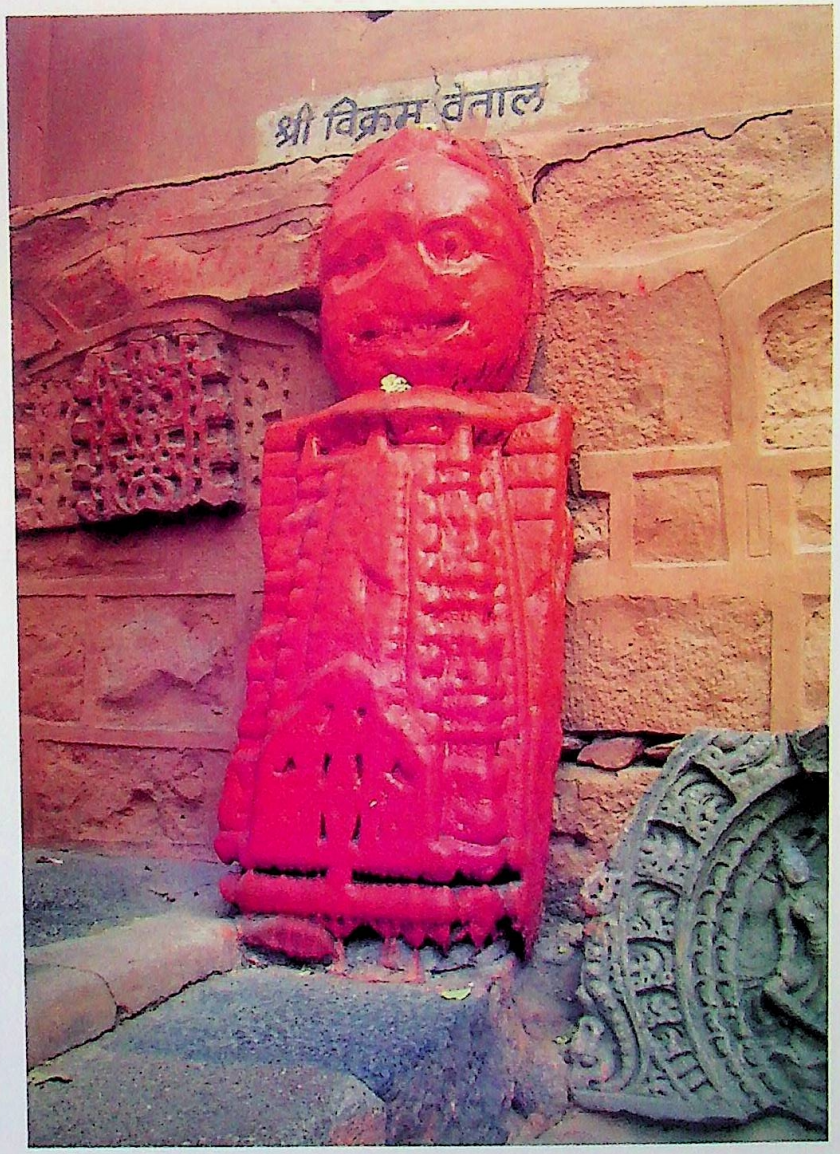


12 The marble image of Saint Gorakshanāth, in the temple of Goraknāth in the Bhartrhari cave complex, on the banks of river Kshipra. P. 99 (Photo R.N.)



13 The original Kāla-Bhairava image placed on an architectural slab now called Vikramāditya Vetāla in the Bhartrhari cave complex. P. 100 (Photo R.N.)

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14 Sadyōjāta-murti, Tumain, Gwalior Museum, 2th cent. BCE depicting vegetation and four heads (All the four heads are chopped off) with a bull. P. 107 (Photo R.N.)

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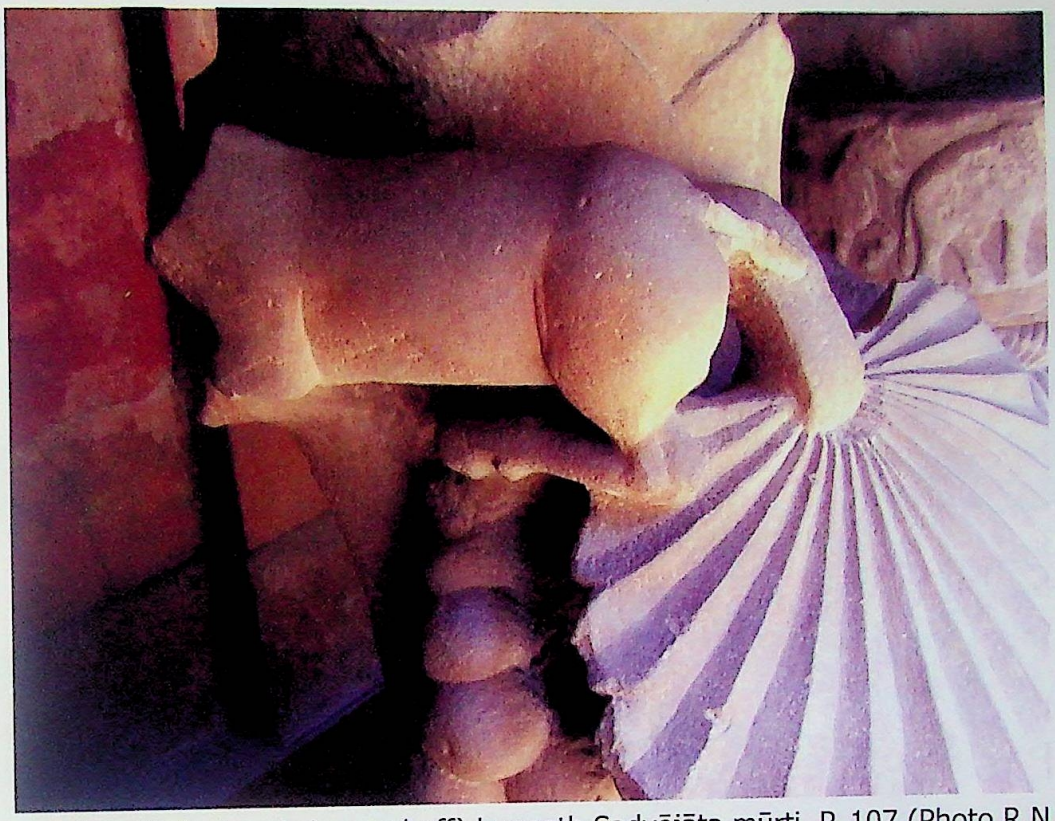
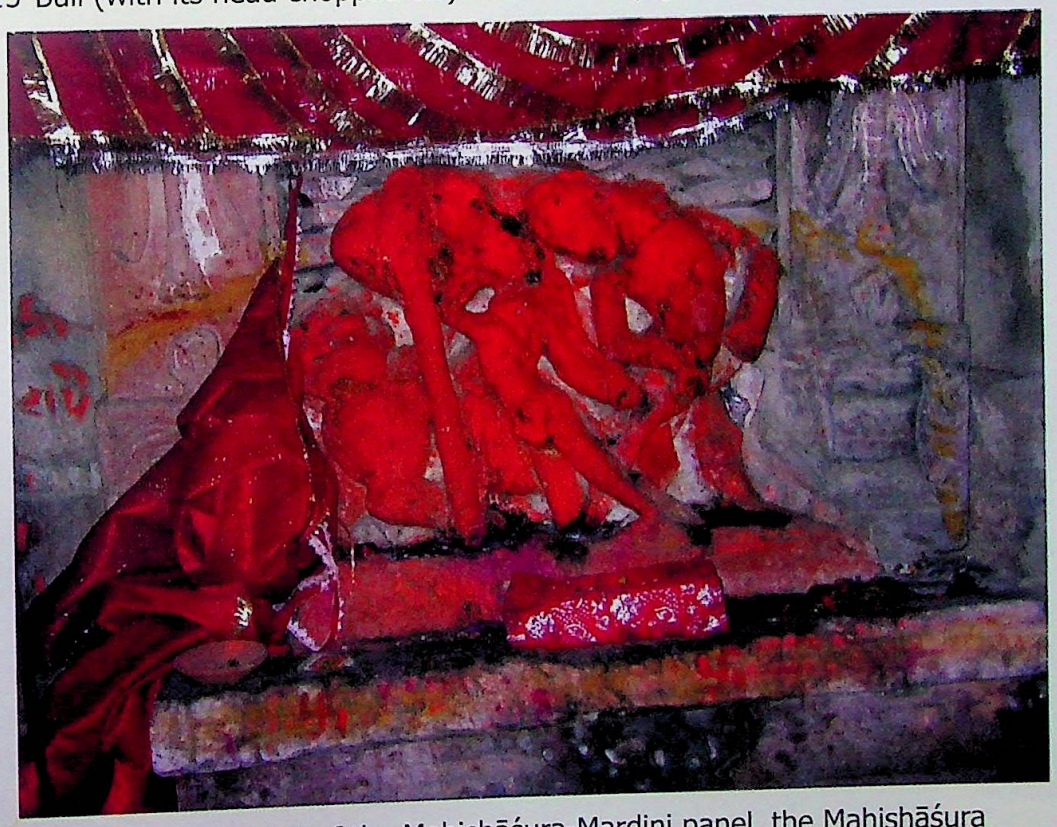


15 Bull (with its head chopped off) beneath Sadyōjāta mūrti, P. 107 (Photo R.N.)



16 The lower part of the Mahishāśura-Mardini panel, the Mahishāśura mardini temple, Nāreśvar Madhya Pradesh. P. 144 (Photo R.N.)

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17 Sadyōjāta Bhairava with four palm leaves issuing from its trunk resembling a linga shaft. Mauryan age, 2rd cent. BCE. From Gwalior, now in the State Museum, Bhopal. P. 108-109 (Photo R.N.)

18 Sadyōjāta Bhairava, with plants on either side from Madhya Pradesh, now in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, Germany. P. 108

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19 Tatpuruṣha Mahādēva, now in the State museum, Bhopal, 8th, 9th cent. P. 112 (Photo R.N.)

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20 Sadyōjāta, Nandi-vaktra, Gyaraspur, dist-Vidisa, now in the State Museum, Bhopal. P. 123 (Photo R.N.)

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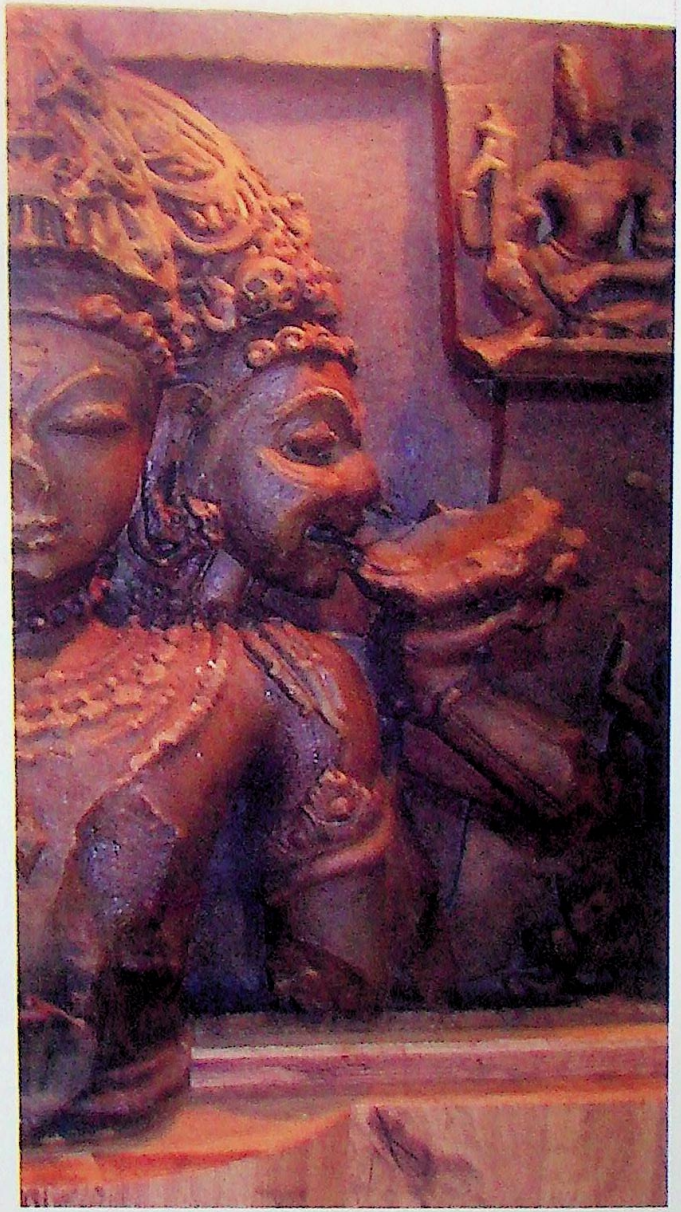
21 Vāma dēva / Umā Vaktra showing the femenine breast to the right. P. 124 (Photo R.N.)



22 Aghōra / Bhairava like a skeleton, to the left- Gyaraspur, dist Vidisa, M.P. P. 124 (Photo R.N.)

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23 Aghōra Bhairava, 6th cent, Talagaon, dist. Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh, in the local temple under worship. P. 109 (Photo R.N.)

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24 Aghōra Bhairavi/Rudrāni now in the National Museum, New Delhi, said to come from Madhya Pradesh, probably from Bilaspur region, 6th cent. P. 109-110 (Photo R.N.)

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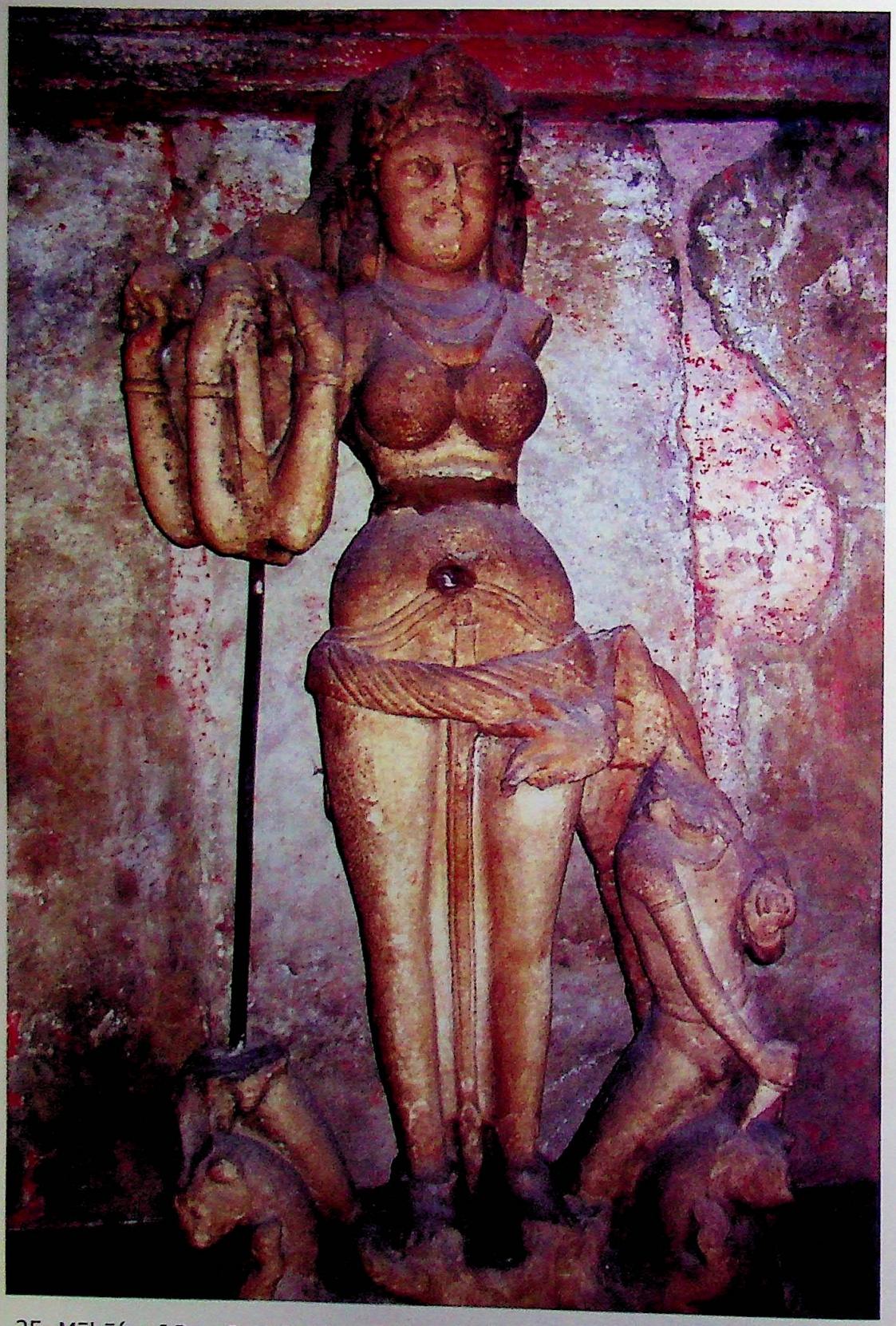

25 Māhēśvarī Durgā, Vidisa, Govt Central Museum, Gwalior 5-6th cent. One of the tallest free standing sculpture of imposing size M.P. P. 141 (Photo R.N.)

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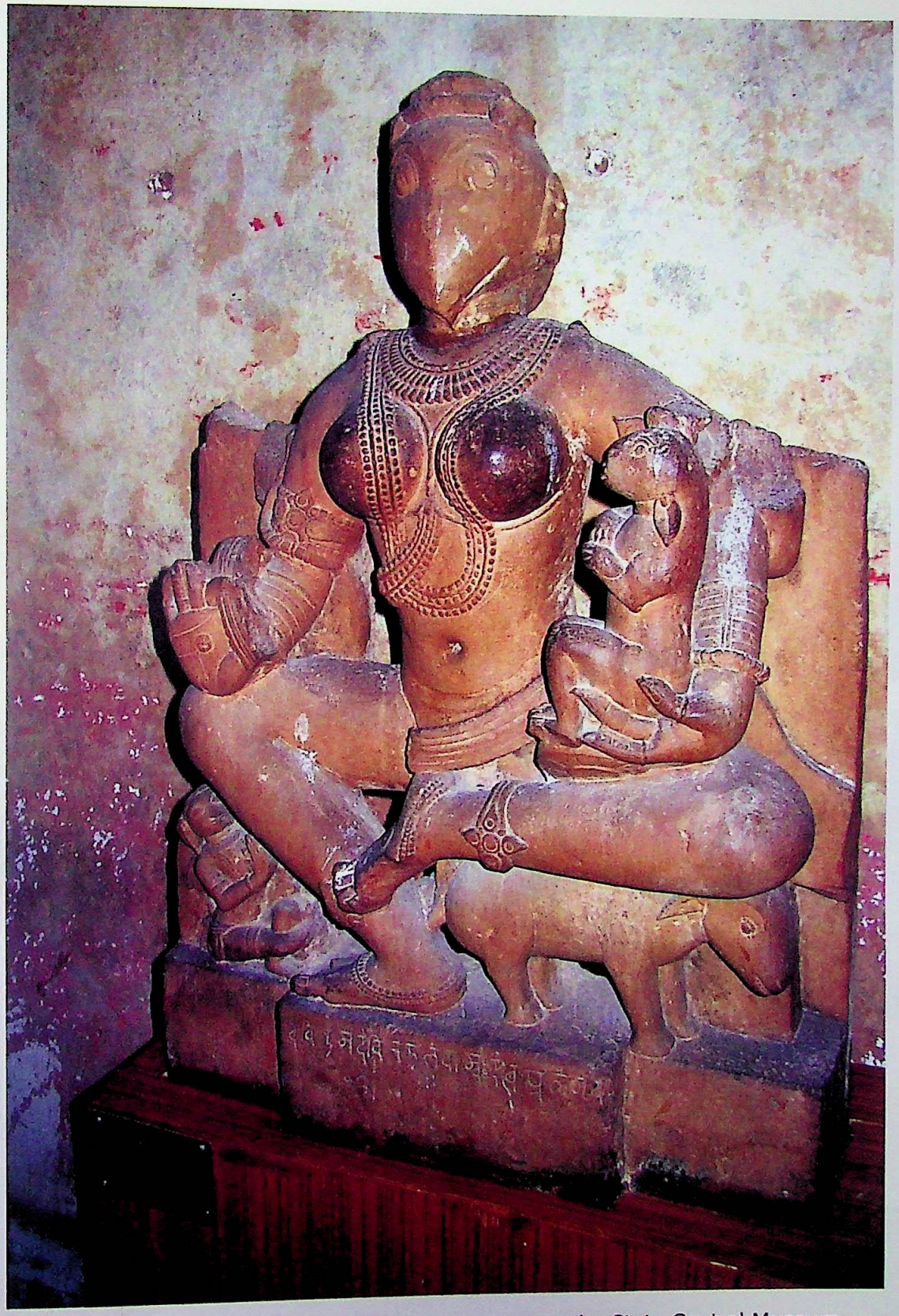

26 Yōgini with the face of a bird, Naresvar, now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior. (Photo R.N.)

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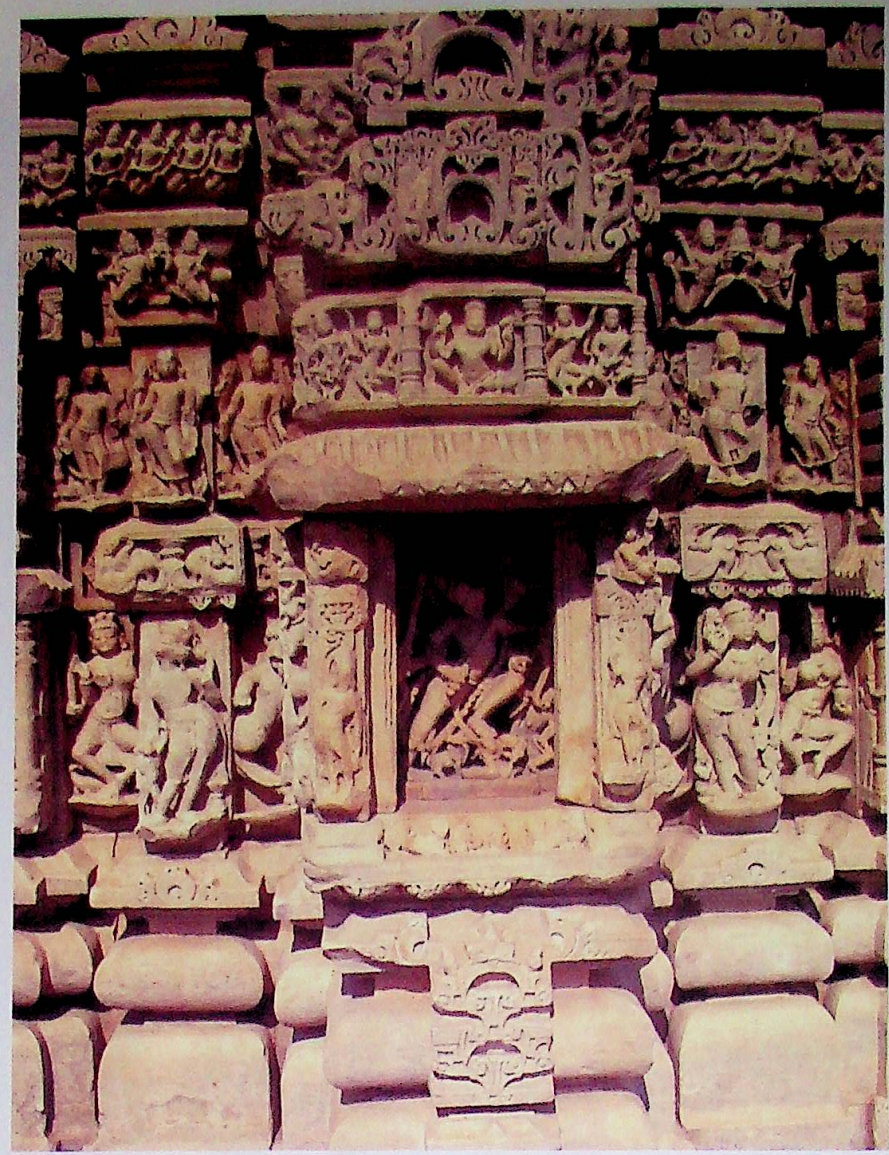
27 Dancing Mātrikā, and Īśāna dikpāla, on the wall of the west facing temple, at survaya dist. Shivapuri, M.P. 10th cent. P. 145-147 (Photo R.N.)



28 Bhairava, Andhakāsura samhāra in a niche of the west facing temple, temple 2, Survaya, dist. Shivapuri 10th cent. P. 145-147 (Photo R.N.)

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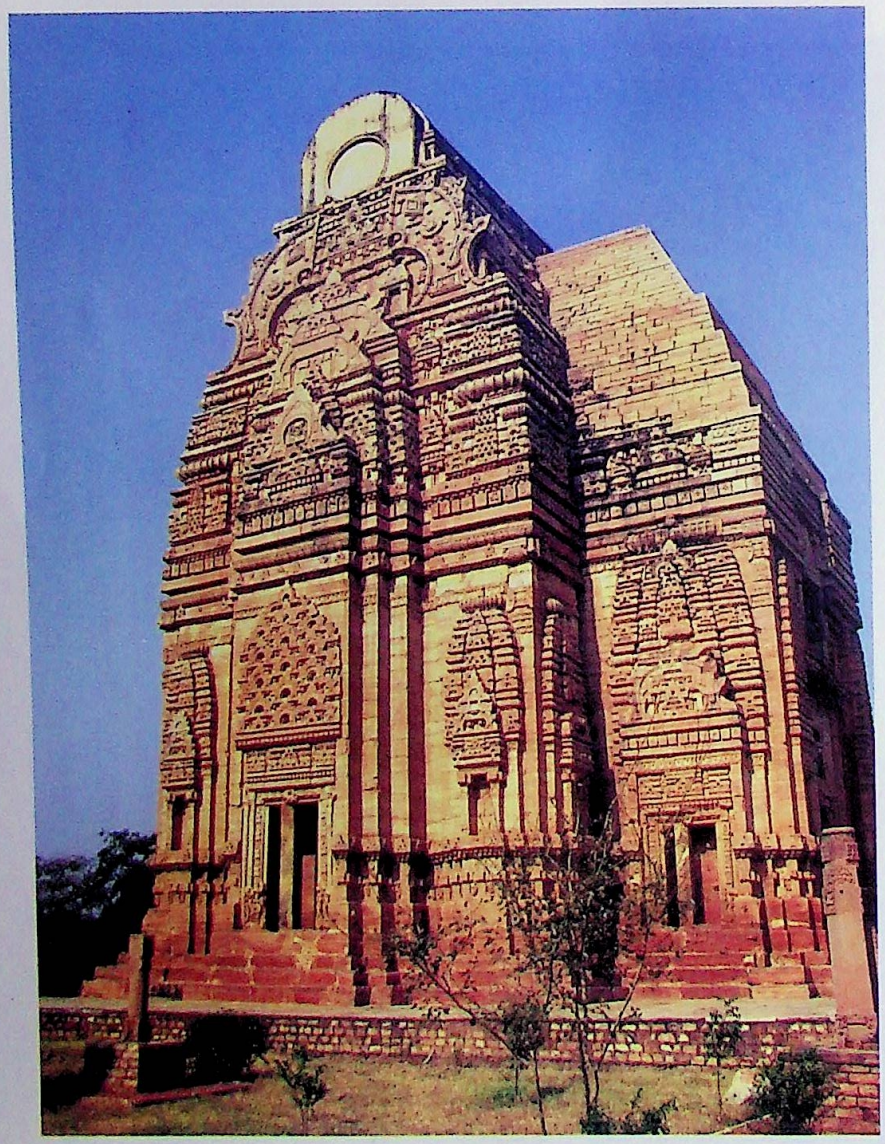
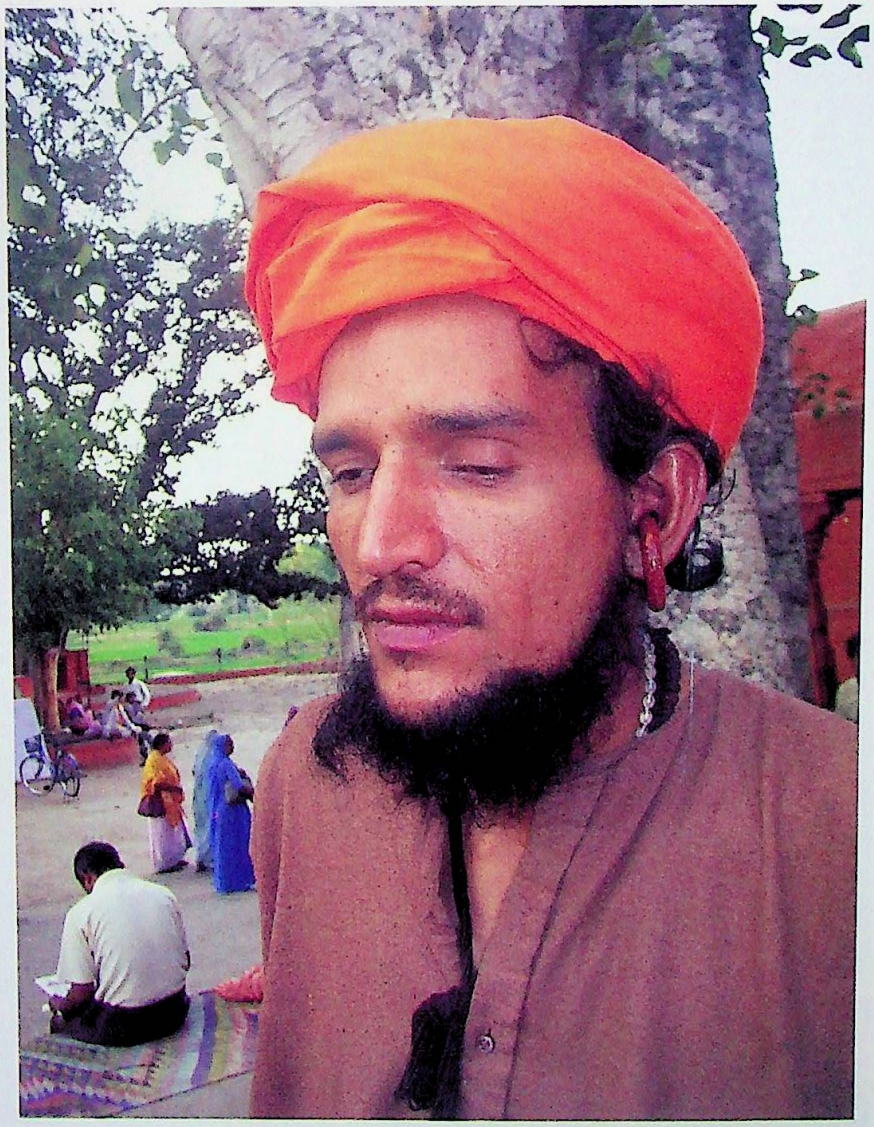


29 Teli kā mandir, dedicated to Saptā mātās following Yāmala tantra, a temple of the Vāma sect, The biggest temple dedicated to Saptamātā worship known to exist, Gwalior. P. 142 (Photo R.N.)



30 A monk of the Gōrakshanāth school, residing at the Bhartrihari cave, Ujjaini, M.P. P. 100 (Photo R.N.)

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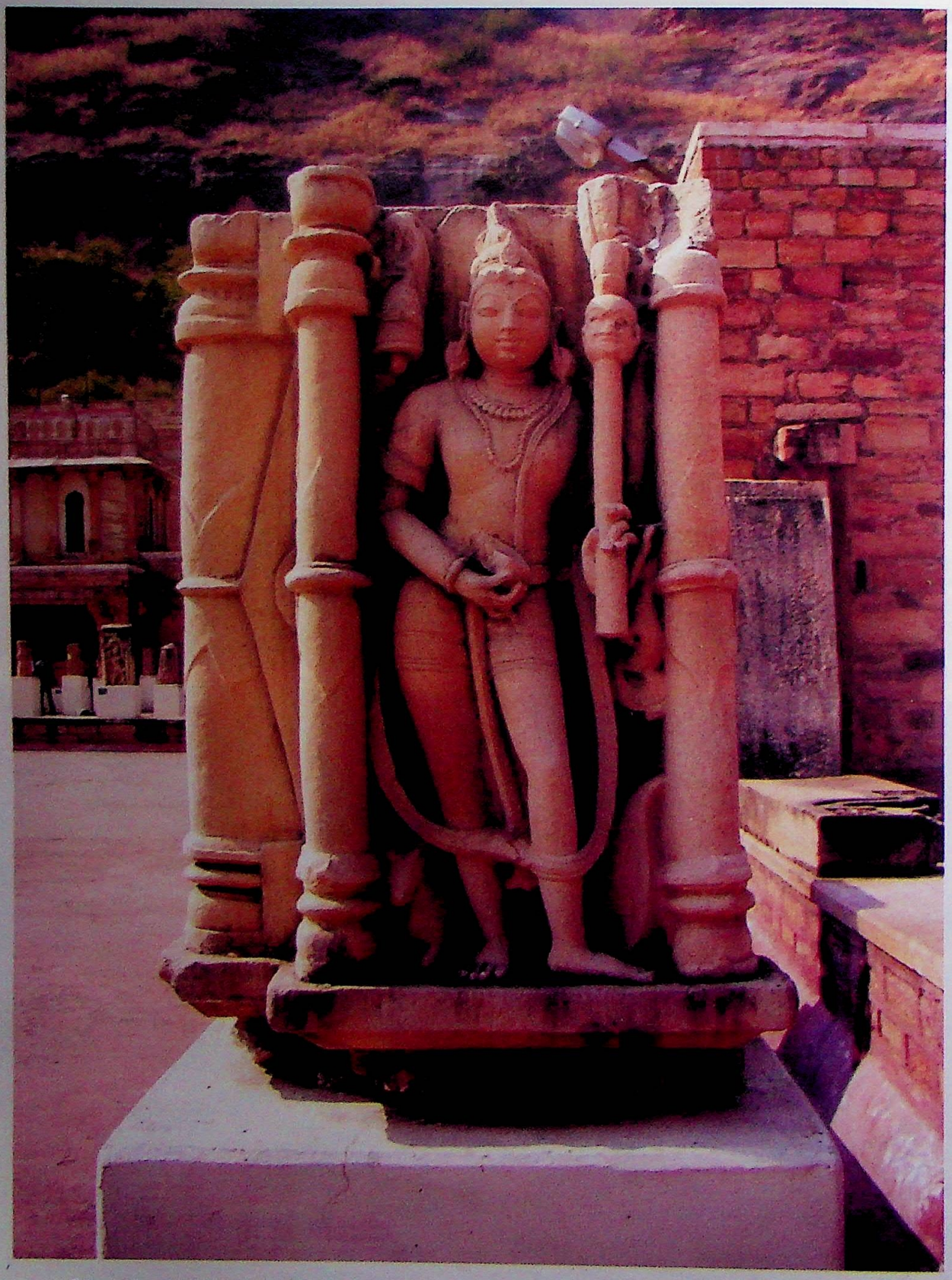

31 Vāyu dikpālā holding Kapāla and Khatvānga in hands; from Padavali, dist. Shivapuri, now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior, 10th cent. (Photo R.N.)

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32 A beautiful image of Kālapriya/Aghōra, consecrated by the Rāshtrakūta Krishna III, at (Melacceri). Kaverippakkam, near Kanchipuram, Tamilnadu, mid 10th cent. P. 91 (Photo R.N.)

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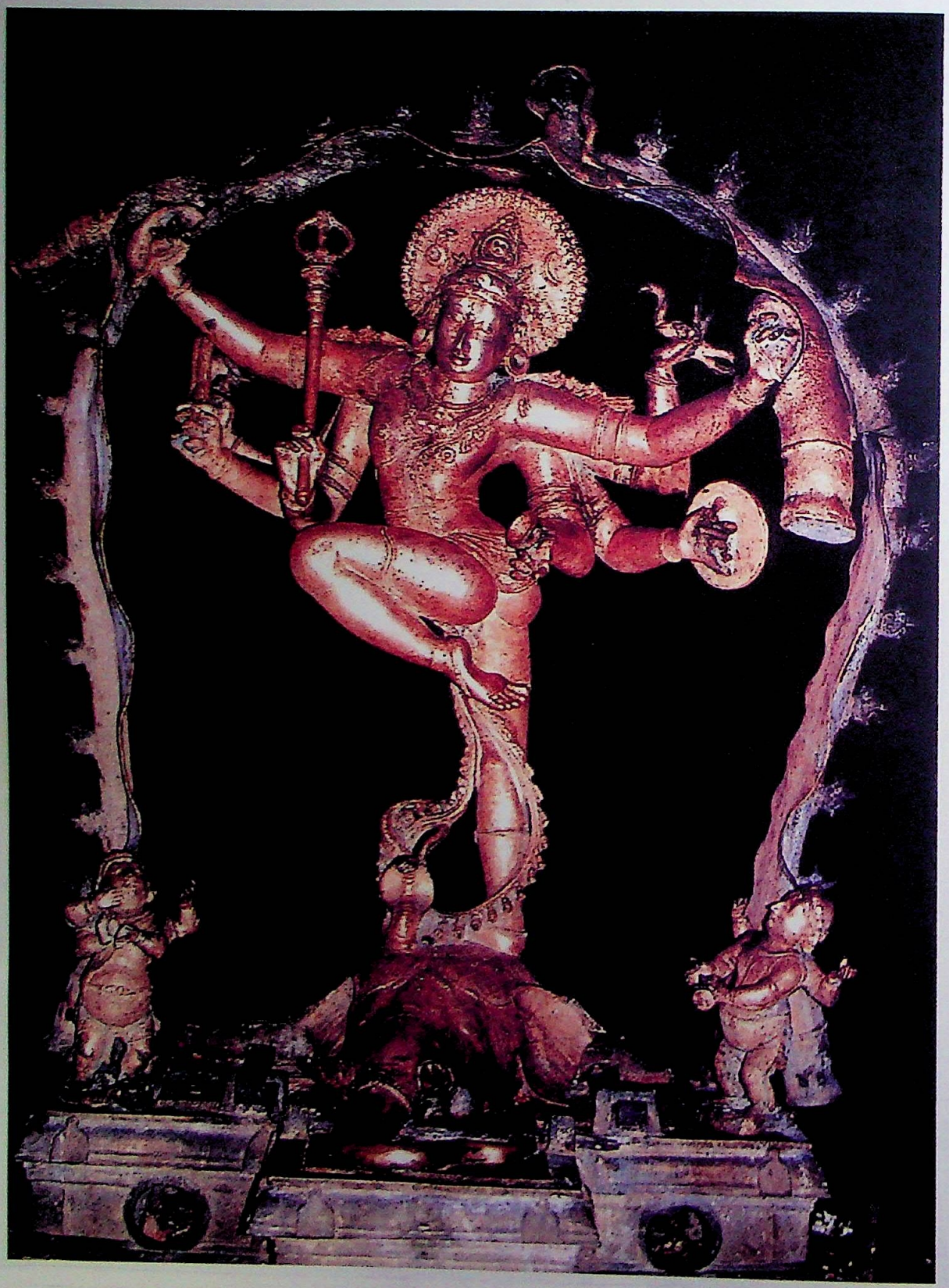

33 Gajasamhāra / Bhairava, bronze, in the Vīrasthāna temple, Valuvur, near Thiruvarur, now under worship. Chola period, 10th cent. P. 90 (Photo Gurumurti)

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34 Nritta mūrti, bronze, now under worship in Melakkadambur, near Chidambaram TamilNadu, orginally from Bengal, Pala period, 9th Cent. On the pedestats are the Bhairavas dancing. (Photo R.N.)

35 One of the Yogini sculputres, now under worship in a local temple, Tanjavur. 9th cent. P. 91

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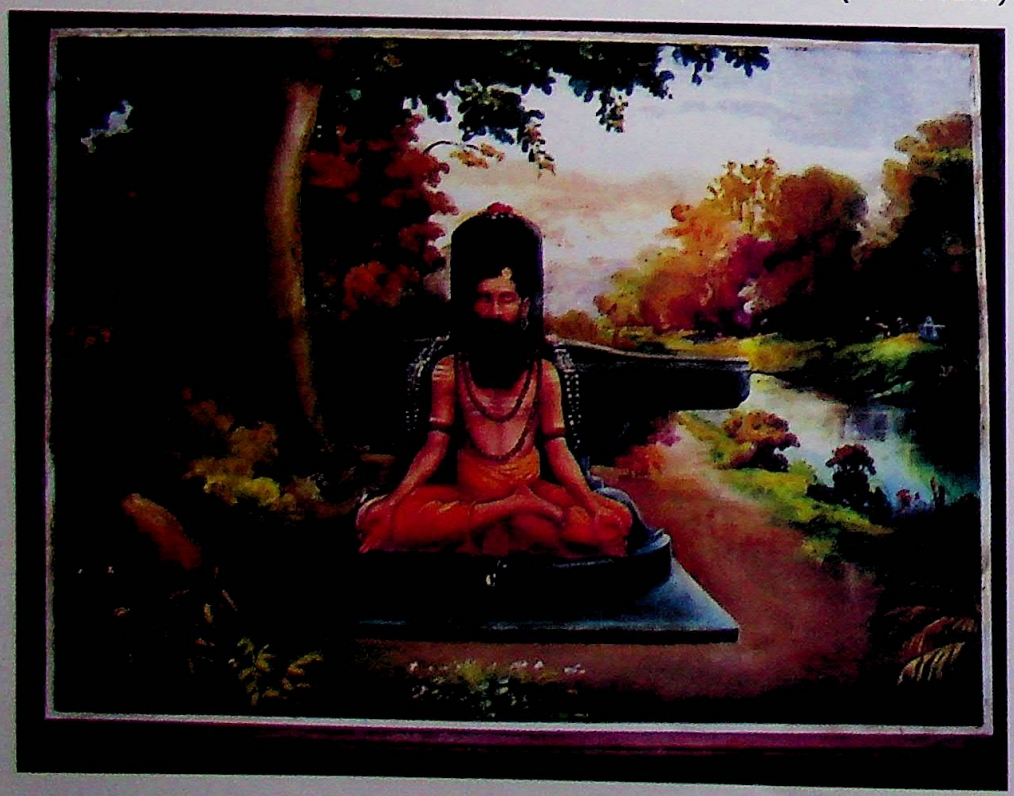
36 Nandikēsvara receiving sivajñāna from Śiva, painting, 1960s, on the wall of Pujaikkattu, Dharmapuram Adheenam Mutt, Mayiladuturai. (Photo R.N.)



37 Gurujnānasambandar merging with śiva, at the end. He was the founder of the Dharma puram Adhinam mutt, Mayiladuturai. Painted in 1960s on the wall of the Pujaikkattu, Dharmapuram Adhinam mutt. (Photo R.N.)

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38 Sadaśiva caturmukha linga with the Linga Vedi; under worship as Pingalēśvara, at the outskirt of Ujjain, Sunga period, 2nd cent BCE. P. 101-102 (Photo R.N.)

39 Nandi, the bull of Śiva, under worship in the Sāndipani temple complex Ujjain, Mauryan period, 3rd cent BCE. P. 95 (Photo R.N.)

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40 Sadyōjāta and Vāmadēva faces of Pingalesvar, Ujjain. P. 101-102 (Photo R.N.)

41 Sadyōjāta and Aghōra faces, Pingalesvar, Ujjain. P. 101-102 (Photo R.N.)

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42 Aghōra face of Pingalesa, Pingalesvar, Ujjain, Sunga period, 2nd Cent BCE. P. 101-102 (Photo R.N.)

43 Vāmadēva face of Pingalesra Sunga period, 2nd cent. BCE. P. 101-102 (Photo R.N.)

44 Sadyōjāta face, Pingalēsvara, Pingalevar, Ujjaini, 2nd cent BCE. P. 101-102 (Photo R.N.)

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45 Tatpurusha Mahādēva, Eka-mukha-linga in the collection of Museum of Indian Art, Berlin Germany, Pl note the benign face.

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46 The lovely image of Tatpurusha/Mahādēva from Maru, now in the State Museum, Bhopal, 6th 7th cent.(Photo R.N.)

47 Tatpurusha-Mahādēva from Kashmir in the Pan Asian Collection (published by Pratapaditya Pal. 1973), 8th and 9th cent. P. 110-113

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48 Sadāśiva Caturmukha linga, Caturmukha Mahādev temple, Nachna, M.P.

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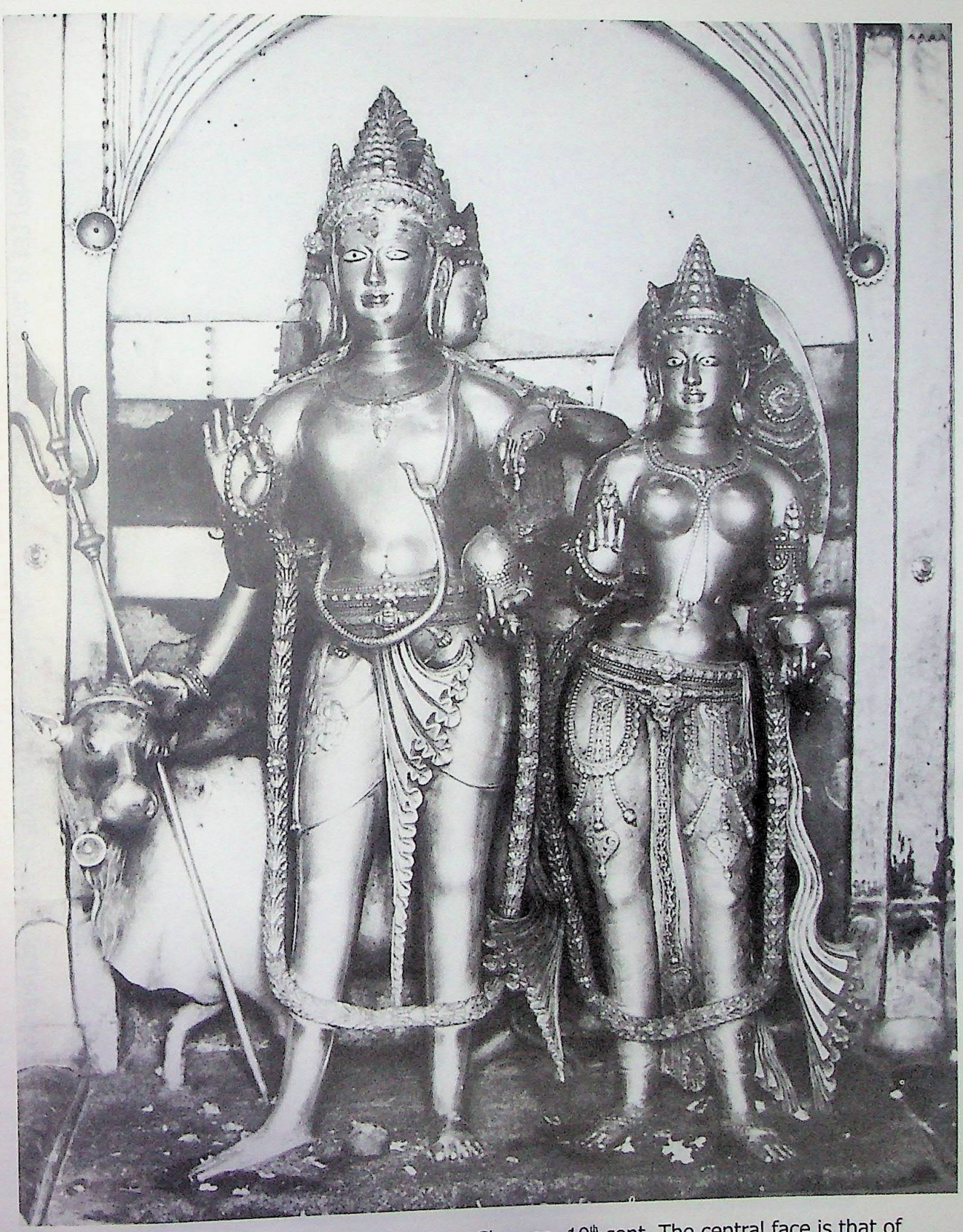

49 Tatpurusha/Mahādēva with Parvati, from Champa, 10th cent. The central face is that of Tatpurusha, as the face to the right is Aghōra/Bhairava and left Vāmadēva/Umāvaktra, worshipped according to Gāruda tantra. P. 115

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50 An Image of Tatpurusha/Mahādēva as Bhadra mukha in the State Museum, Shimla, 11th cent. P. 133 (Photo R.N.)

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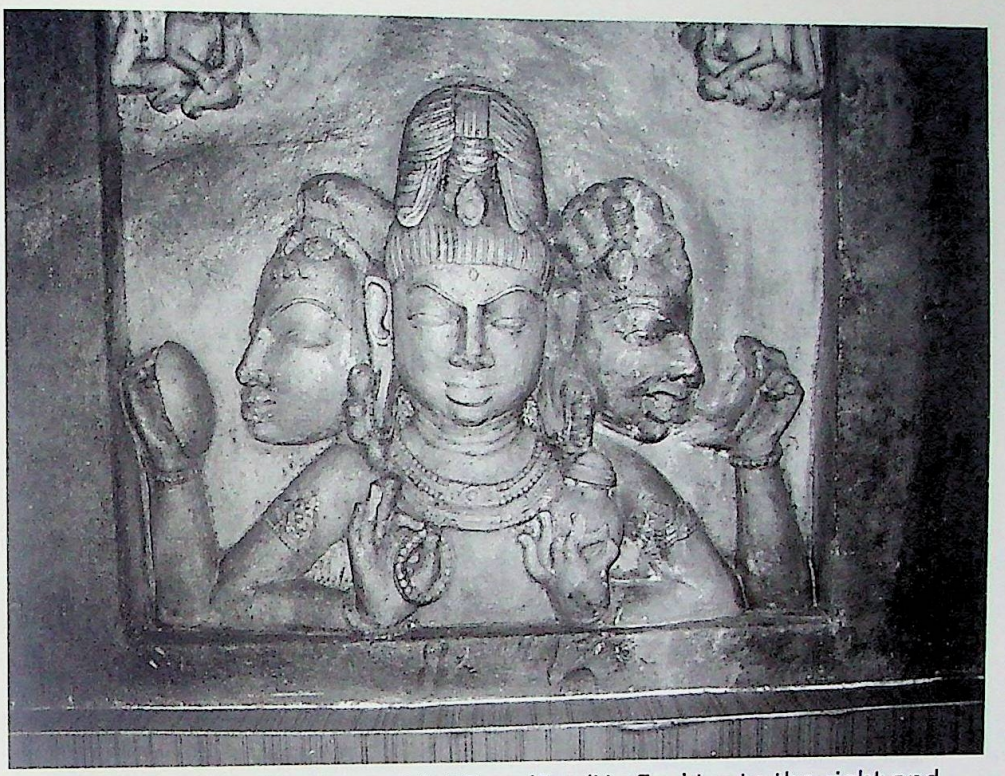

51 Sadyōjāta/Nandivaktra, with Vāmadēva/Umāvaktra to the right and Aghōra/Bhairava to the left, Padavali, now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior. P. 126 (Photo R.N.)

52 Note Vāmadēva/Umāvaktia is to the right and Aghōra/Bhairava to the left of central face (representing Sadyōjātamūrti,) gyaraspur worshipped according to Bhūtta-tantra. P. 123-133 (Photo R.N.)

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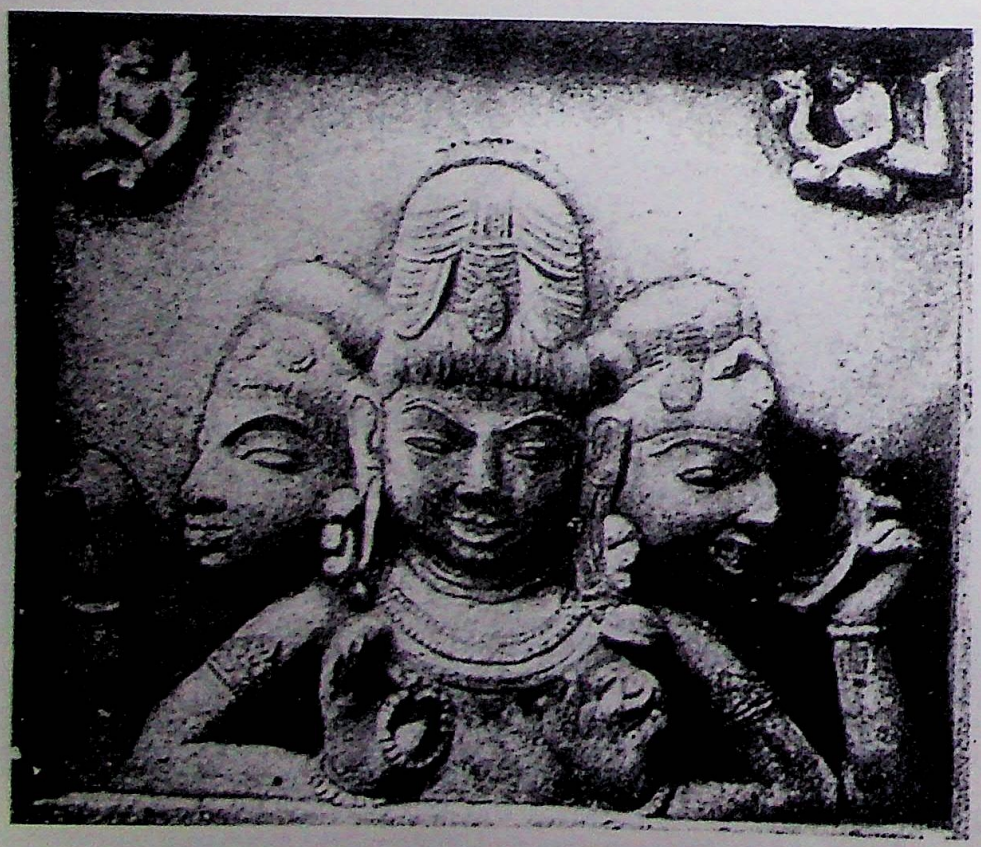
53 Sadyōjāta/Nandivaktra, with Umāvaktra to the right and Aghōra/Bhairava to the left from Padavali, now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior. P. 127 (Photo R.N.)



54 Sadyōjāta from Padavali, in the State Museum, Bhopal. P. 126 (Photo R.N.)

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55 Sadyōjāta Nandivaktra, from Gyaraspur, Dist Vidisa, Now in the State Museum, Bhopal, 10th cent. P. 125-126 (Photo R.N.)

56 Tatpurusha-Mahādēva Trimukha, Elephanta cave 6th cent. P. 125-126

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56 (b) Tatpurusha Mahādēva, Trimukha, Elephanta Cave, Near Mumbai, 6th cent. P. 131-133

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57 Sadāśiva-Bhairava, Kulu valley, 11th-12th cent, Samuel Elenberg collection, New York, Published by Dr. P. Pal. Please note the front face on the Rudra-bhāga is that of Aghōra/Bhairava the face on top is that of Iśāna. The whole represent Sadāśiva Bhairava.

58 Back view of Sadāśiva-Bhairava (Courtesy Pratapaditya pal). P. 116-117

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59 Aghōra Bhairava face from Nemad, Now in the Central Museum, Nagpur, courtesy Central museum, Nagpur. P. 105-106

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60 Harihara Bhairava, Gandhara Kushan period, 2nd BCE, Now in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, Germany., P1 note the side face on the right as a lion and the left as a boar. P. 110-111

61 Harihara-Bhairava, from Kashmir. Now in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, Germany, 10th cent. Courtesy, Museum of Indian Art, Berlin. P. 112-122

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62 Bhairava Sculputre from Nārēśvar, now in the Central Museum, Gwalior, 10th-11th cent. P. 146 (Photo R.N.)

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63 Kshetrapāla with pots placed one over the other by his side, 11th cent; probably it comes from Mandasor, now in the State Museum, Bhopal. (Photo R.N.)

64 Bhairava, now in the State Museum, Bhopal. He is shown with a garland of bones. (Photo R.N.)

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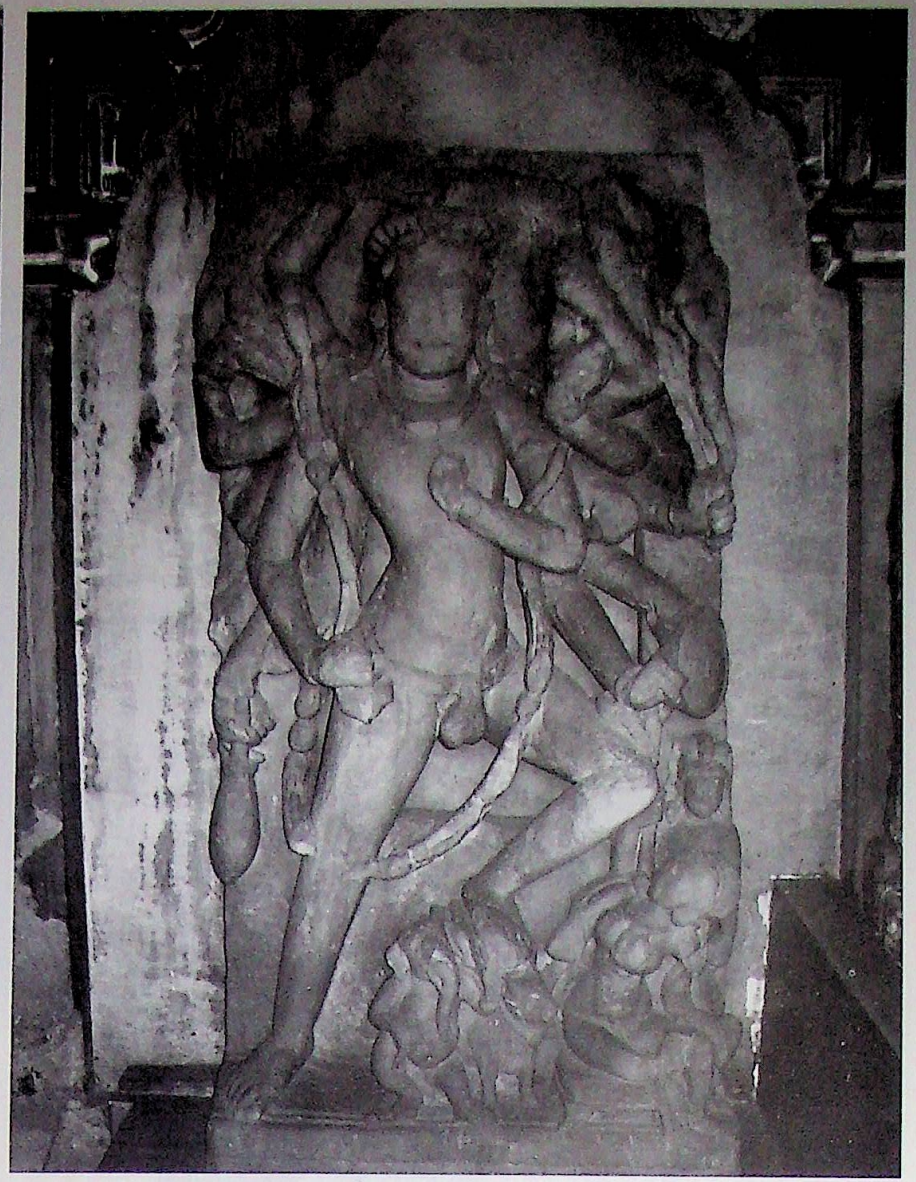
65 River goddess Kālindī-Yamunā, an attendent, behind them is Mahākāla door keeper, Teli ka mandir, Gwalior M.P. (Photo R.N.)



66 Bhairava, Gaja samhāra, from Madhya Pradesh, now in the ASI Museum, Gwalior. (Photo R.N.)

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67 Bhairava; Andhakāsura samhāra, in a niche of the west facing temple, Survaya, near Gwalior, M.P. (Photo R.N.)

68 Bhairava, Andhakāśura samhāra, 11th cent., from Cattisgarh, Dist Mandasor. Now in State Museum, Bhopal. (PhotoR.N.)

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69 Nritta Ganapati as a member of the Mātr gana, Padavali. now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior. (Photo R.N.)

70 Vāyu Dikpālā, Padāvali, M.P., Govt Central Museum, Gwalior. Vāyu also holds a Khatvānga and Kapāla. In the worship of Svacchanda Bhairava, the Dikpālās are also called manifestations of Bhairava. (Photo R.N.)

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71 Nrrithi from Padāvali, now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior, holding a severed head on one hand and a bone on the other. Other two hold sword and shield. (Photo R.N.)

72 Iśāna-Dikpāla, Padavali, M.P., Govt Central Museum, Gwalior. Isana also holds a Khatvānga and Kapāla. In the worship of Svacchanda Bhairava, the Pālas are also called manifestations of Bhairava. (Photo R.N.)

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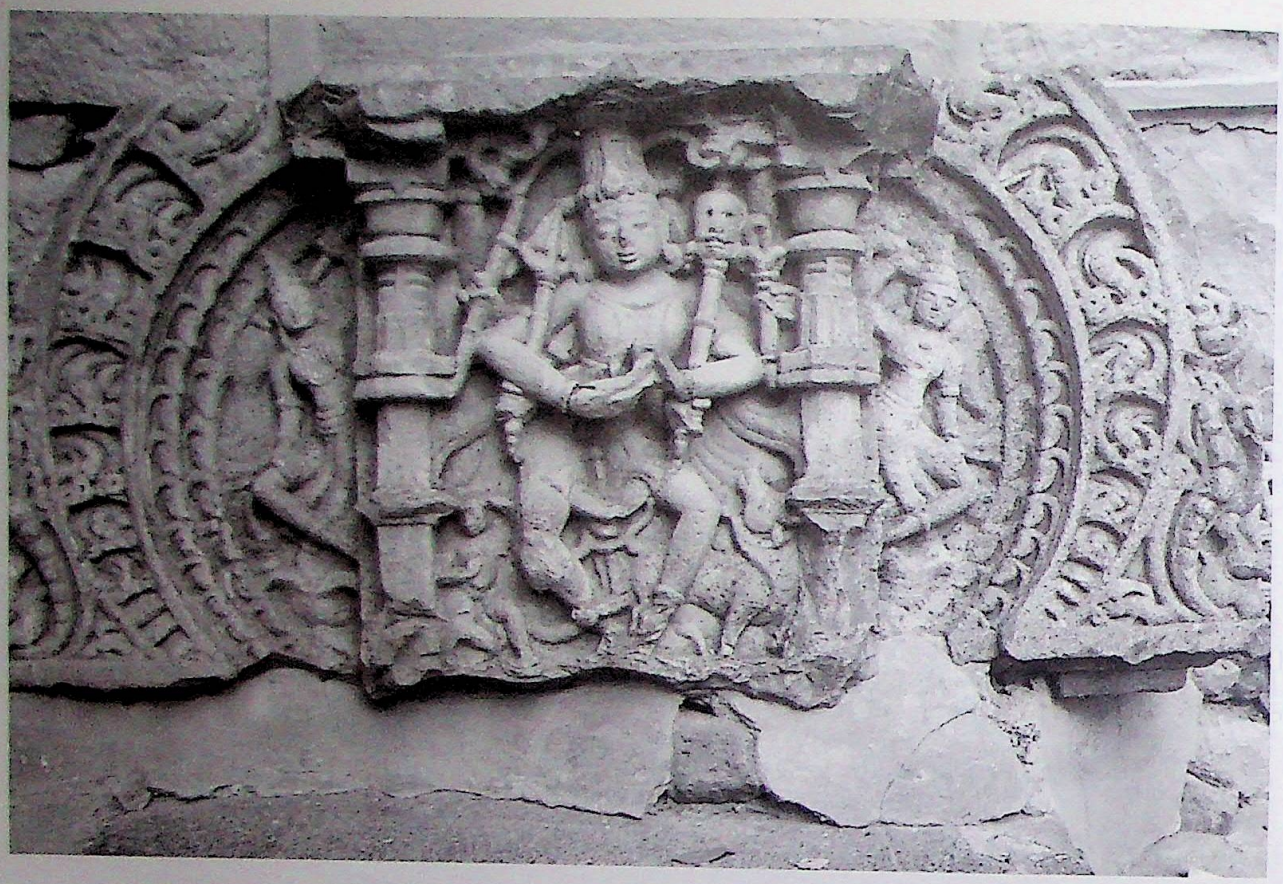

Kāpāla Nritta dance of Śiva, in a panel of Sukha-nāsa, near Vikramāditya vētāla, in the Bhartrihari guha complex, Ujjain, 11th cent. P. 104 (Photo R.N.) 73

74 Kapāla Nritta dance of Śiva, generally worshipped by Kāpālika followers, from Mandasor, Central India; now in the State Museum, Bhopal, 11th cent. P. 104 (Photo R.N.)

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75 Kapāla nritta dance of Śiva, Indra garh, dist Mandasor 8th cent. Now in the State museum, Bhopal. P. 105 (Photo R.N.)

76 Dakshinamurti of the Soma siddhāntins (Kālāmukhas), at Thiruvorriyur, near Madras, Chola period, 11th cent. P. 38 (Photo R.N.)

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77 Aghōra Bhairava, metal, such metal faces represent the god in full, under worship in north Indian temples, (see kāla Bhairāva at Ujjaini F.7), P. 118 (courtesy, Pratapaditya Pal).

78 Goddess Gauri, made of metal, now in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, Germany. Such faces are regularly found in North Indian temples, and are under worship (courtesy Museum of Indian Art. Berlin) P. 116

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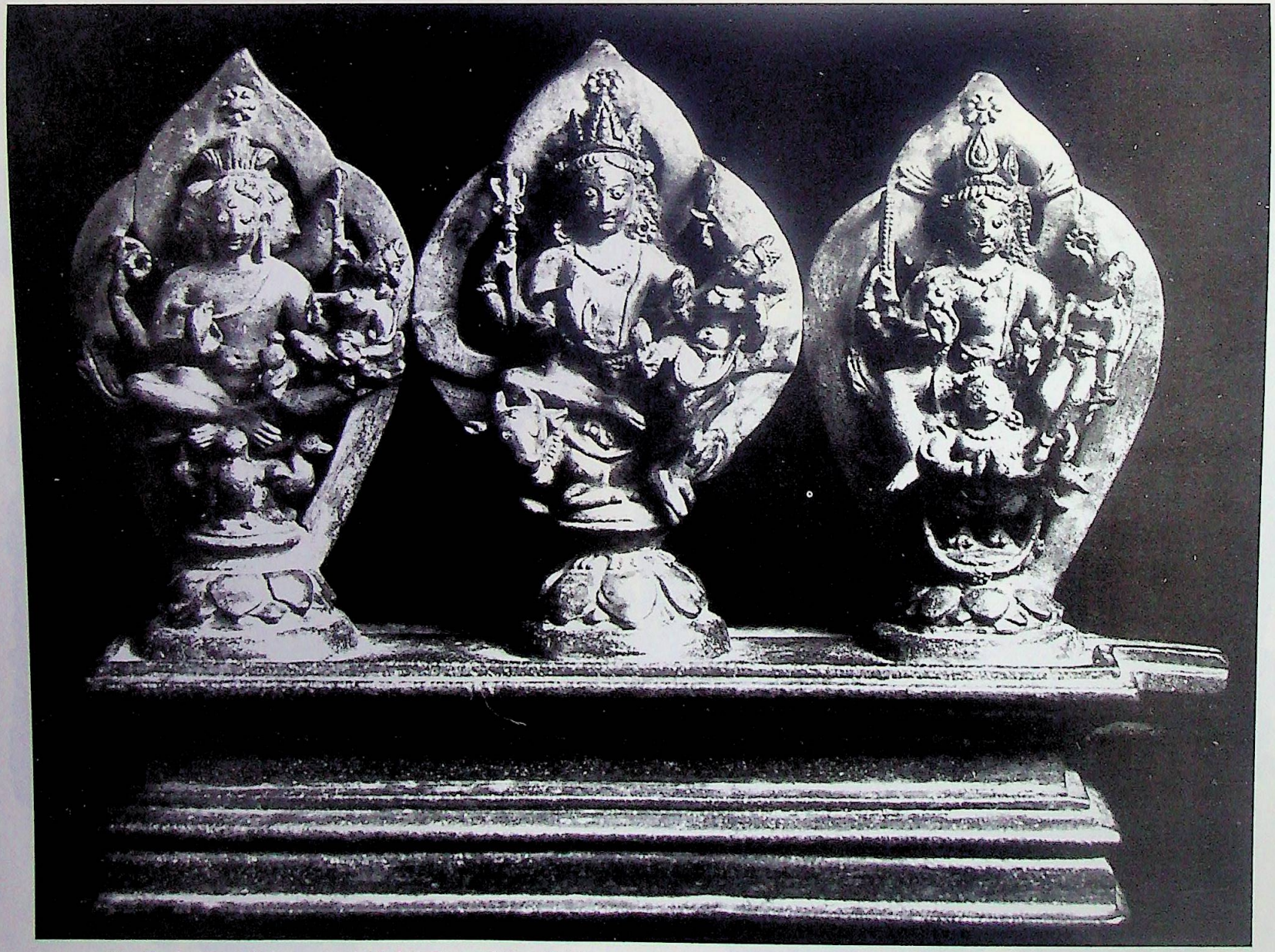

79 Brahmā , Vishnu, and Mahēsāna of the Bhairava school. The followers of Bhairava school worship the Trinity, before worshipping Svacchanda Bhairava Bhattāra. P. 119-121 (Courtesy P. Pal)

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80 Umāmahēśvara, now in State Museum, Bhopal. The figure to the right of Siva seems to be Bhairava. This group was probarly worshipped by the follows of Bhairava school. P.137 -138 (Photo R.N.)

81 Siva Tatpurusha-Trimukha Parvati, Kashmir 11th cent. Pan Asian collection, P. 137 (courtesy P. Pal)

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82 Harihara, Mandasor, 5th cent, now in the State Museum, Bhopal. P. 122 (Photo R.N.)

83 Harihara, Śivapuri, 11th cent. Now in the State Museum, Bhopal. P. 122 (Photo R.N.)

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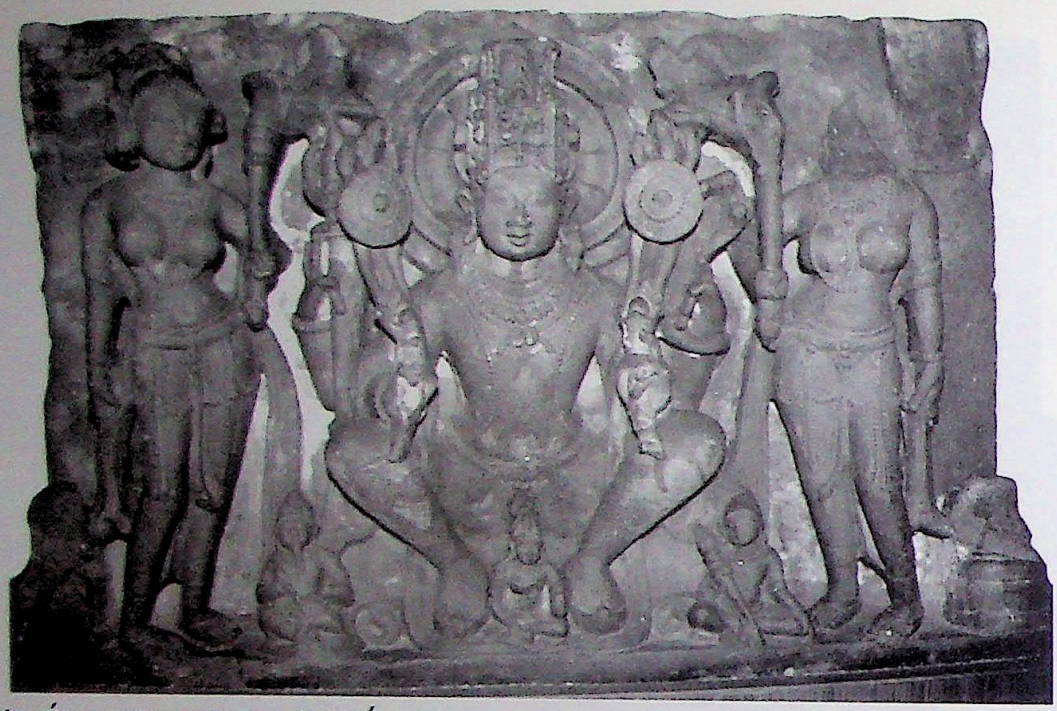
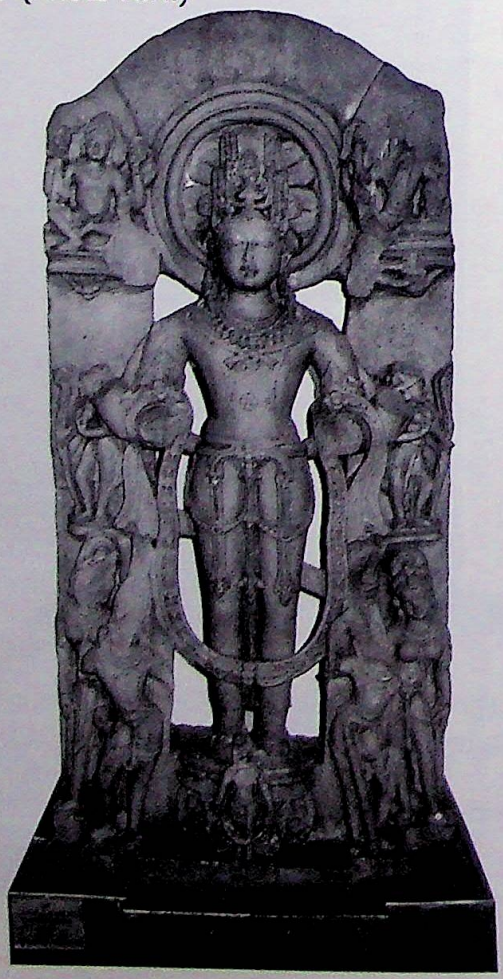


84 Śiva- sūrya: Two of his Śaktis are shown one on either side at his waist height. By the side of his head Brahmā is on his right and Vishnu on his left indicating the central figure is Śiva-sūrya. From Mandasor, 10th cent, now in the State Museum, Bhopal, MP. P. 138 (Photo R.N.)



85 Śiva-sūrya, four armed image of Śiva-sūrya standing wearing high shoes, udicya vēsha. (western attire), State Museum, Bhopal. Beneath his legs is Aruna? On either side are his male attendants and also consorts Ushā and Pratyushā. P. 138 (Photo R.N.)

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86 Lakulisa, Gajendragarrh, dist. Mandasor, 5th cent. Now in the State museum, Bhopal. P. 138-139 (Photo R.N.)

87 Srikantamūrti, before mainfesting as Lakulisa, Hingalajagarh, dist Mandasor, 10th cent. To his right above is Bhairava and left is devi, now in state museum, Bhopal. P. 138-139 (Photo R.N.)

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88 Kumāra as Panca Brahmam, emanating from a linga, from Nāresvar, now in the Central Museum, Gwalior ASI, P. 138 (Photo R.N.)

89 Kumāra as Panca Brahmam, emanating from durga, from Nāresvar, now in the Central Museum, Gwalior ASI, P. 138 (Photo R.N.)

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90 In between two heads is a seated image of Śiva with a bull beneath. An ascetic is standing to the left in adoration. (Photo R.N.)

91 In between two heads is a four armed seated Śiva, holding a Khatuanga, to the left stands an āscetic in adoration. (Photo R.N.)

92 Severed hands and feet beneath the seated yogi. See severed hands between the skulls, on the head of Aghora Bhairava from Gyaraspur, (F.55 of this book) Photo R.N.

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93 The row of sculptures, on the base of the Teli-ka-mandir, Gwalior; these images in a row are called Bhuvanesvaras occupying Bhuvana mandala. P. 142 (Photo R.N.)

94 The base of the Telika mandir, dedicated the Saptamātas. The worship tought to have taken place on the basis of Yāmala-tantra. P. 142 (Photo R.N.)

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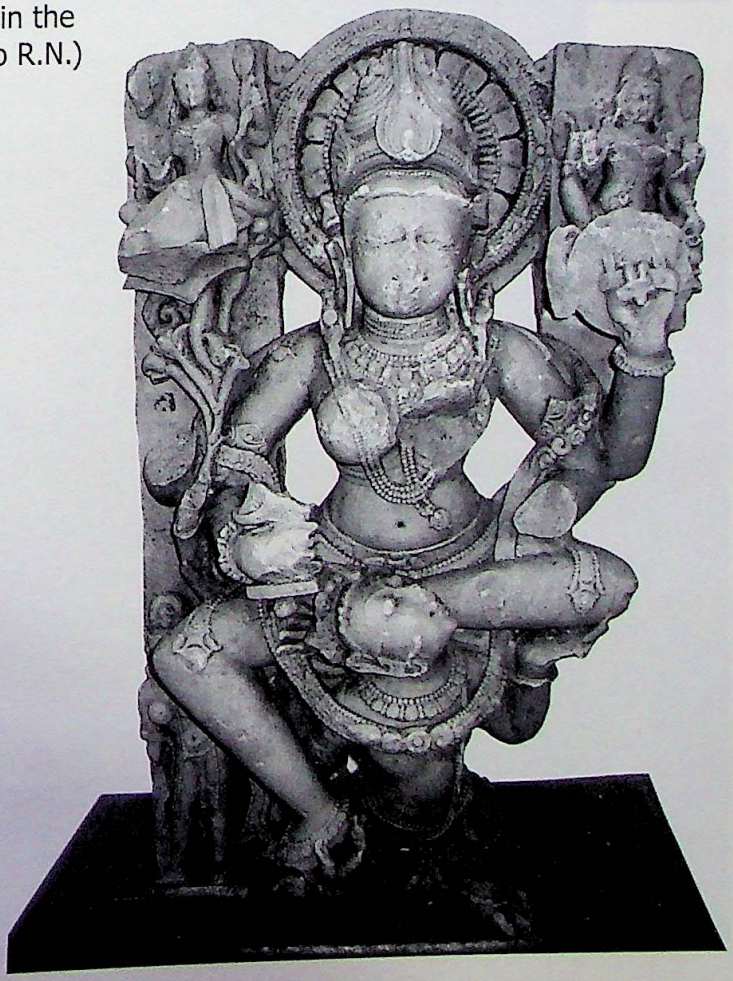
95 The Goddess Lalitā Tripurasundari, generally called Lajjā Gauri, from Mandasor, Now in the State Museum, Bhopal, 5-6th cent. (Photo R.N.)



96 Durgā as Vishnu Māyā from Bhajer, now in the State Museum, Bhopal, 12th cent. Please note the head of Mahisha in her upper hand. (Photo R.N.)

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97 Māheśvari, from Vidisa, one of the Mātrika 5-6th cent. Now in State Central Museum, Gwalior. P. 141 (Photo R.N.)

98 Kaumāri from Vidisa, one of the Matrika 5-6th cent, State Central Museum, Gwalior. P. 141 (Photo R.N.)

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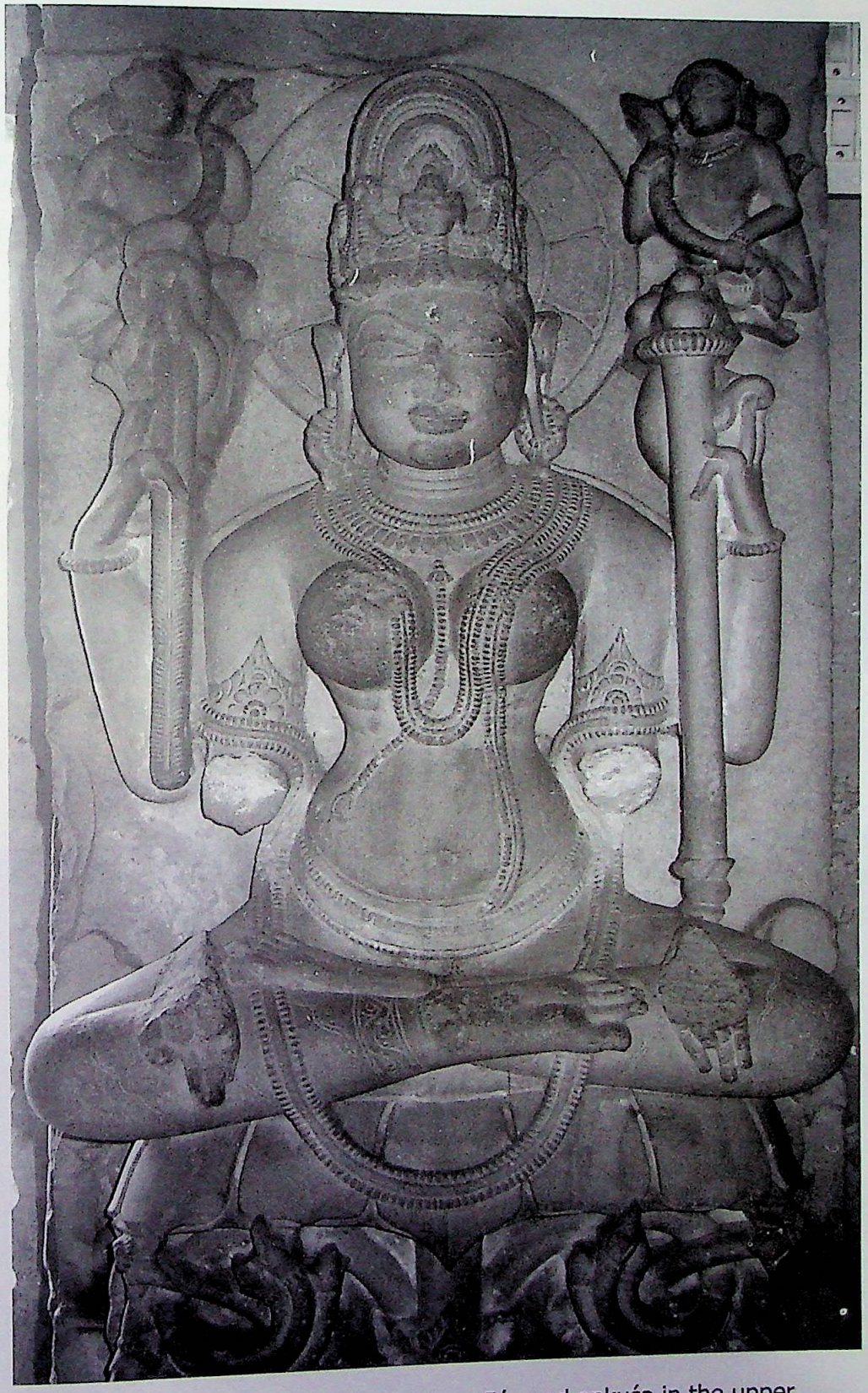

99 Devi, seated in yoga pose, holding pāśa and ankuśa in the upper arms. The other two held probably akshamālā and kamandalu, now in State Museum, Bhopal 11th cent. (Photo R.N.)

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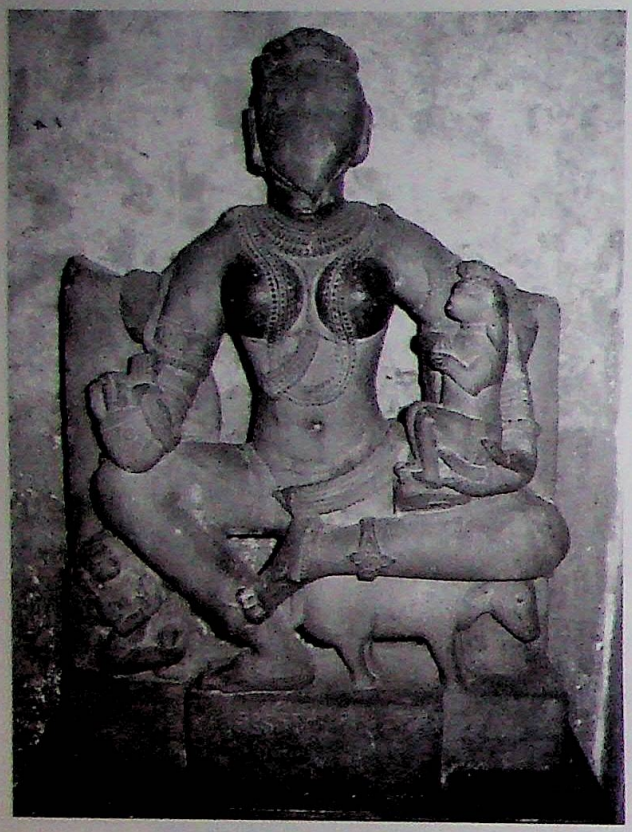
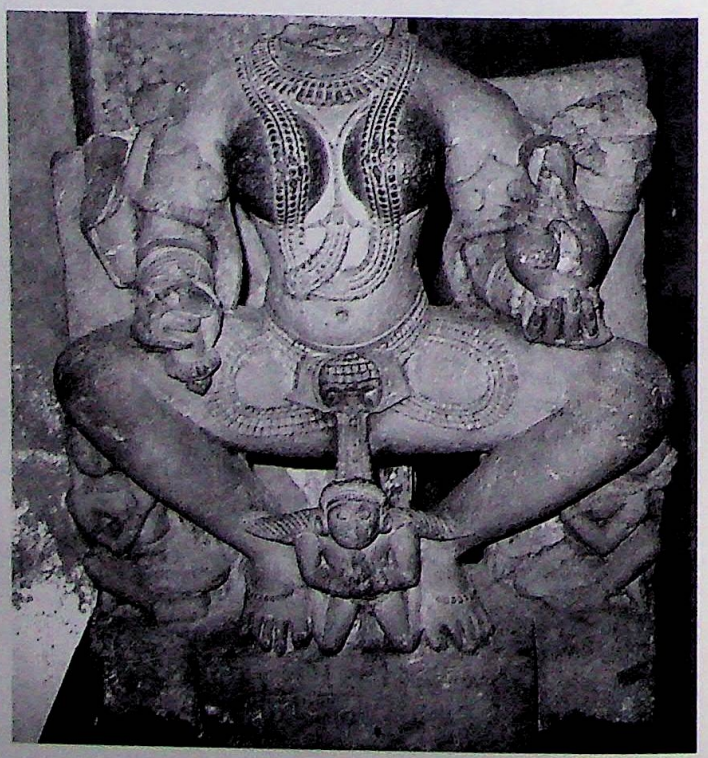


100 Bird headed Yogini

101 Naiririti

Nareswar now in the State Central Museum, Gwalior. P. 141 (Photo R.N.)

102 Aindri



102 (a) Nārāyani

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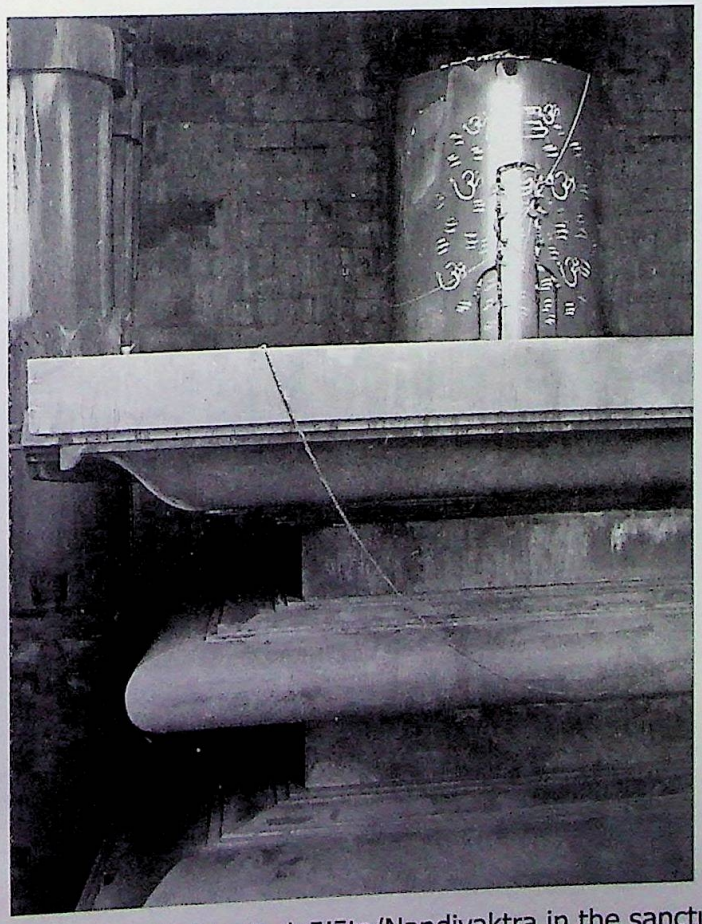
103 Bhartrihari Cave, with the image of Bhartrihari; the seated ascetic belongs to the Natha sect, Ujjain. (Photo R.N.)



104 The gigantic linga devoted to Sadyōjāta/Nandivaktra in the sanctum of the great temple built by Bhoja Parāmara at Bhojapuri near Bhopal. 11th cent. (Photo R.N.)

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105 Caturumukha Sadāśiva, Virattana temple, Thiruvadikai, Tamilnadu Pallava period, c. 600 CE. (Photo R.N.)

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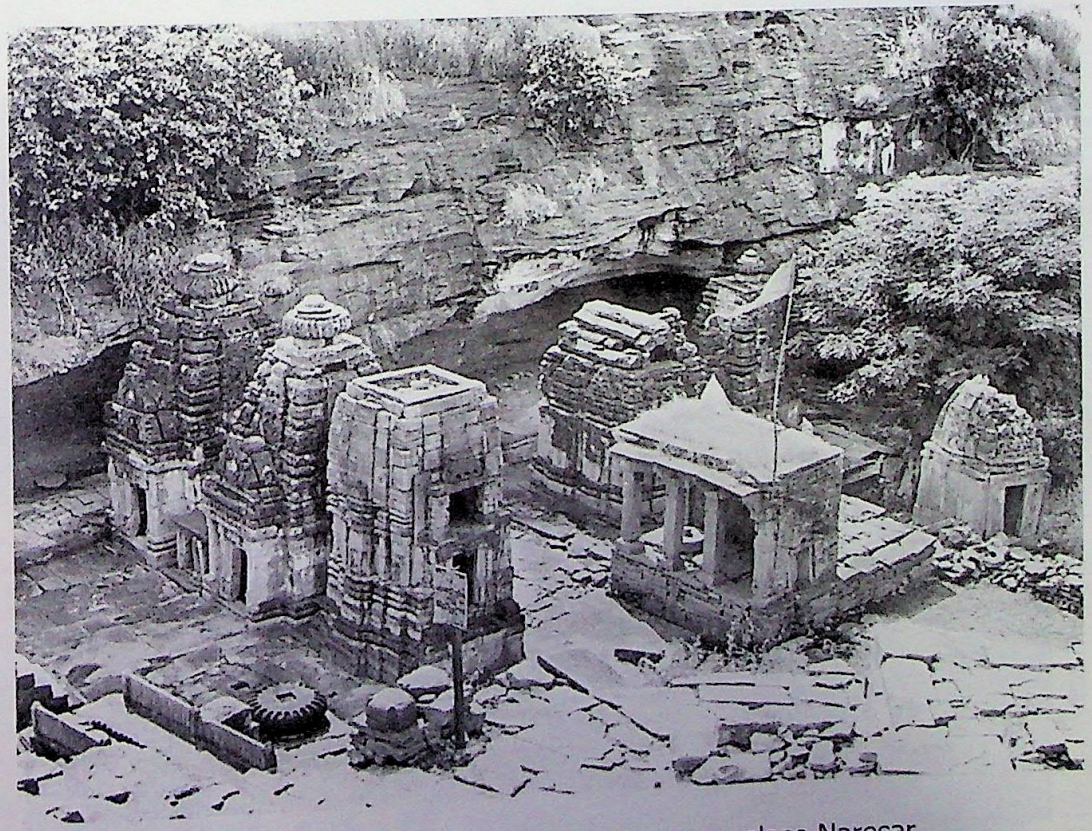
106 The three temples built so close to each other. Monastery (Sankhamathika), Survaya, 10th Cent. (Courtesy R.N. Mishra)



107 A duster of temples, built at the same place Naresar, Dist. Morena M.P. 8th Century. This group shows they are dedicatory temples. (Courtesy R.N. Mishra)

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108 Three temples in a row, at the same place. Naresvar. P. 140 (Photo R.N.)

109 A group of two temples as one approaches the main group of Nareswar, Madhya Pradesh. These clusters show they are dedicatory temples. P. 140 (Photo R.N.)

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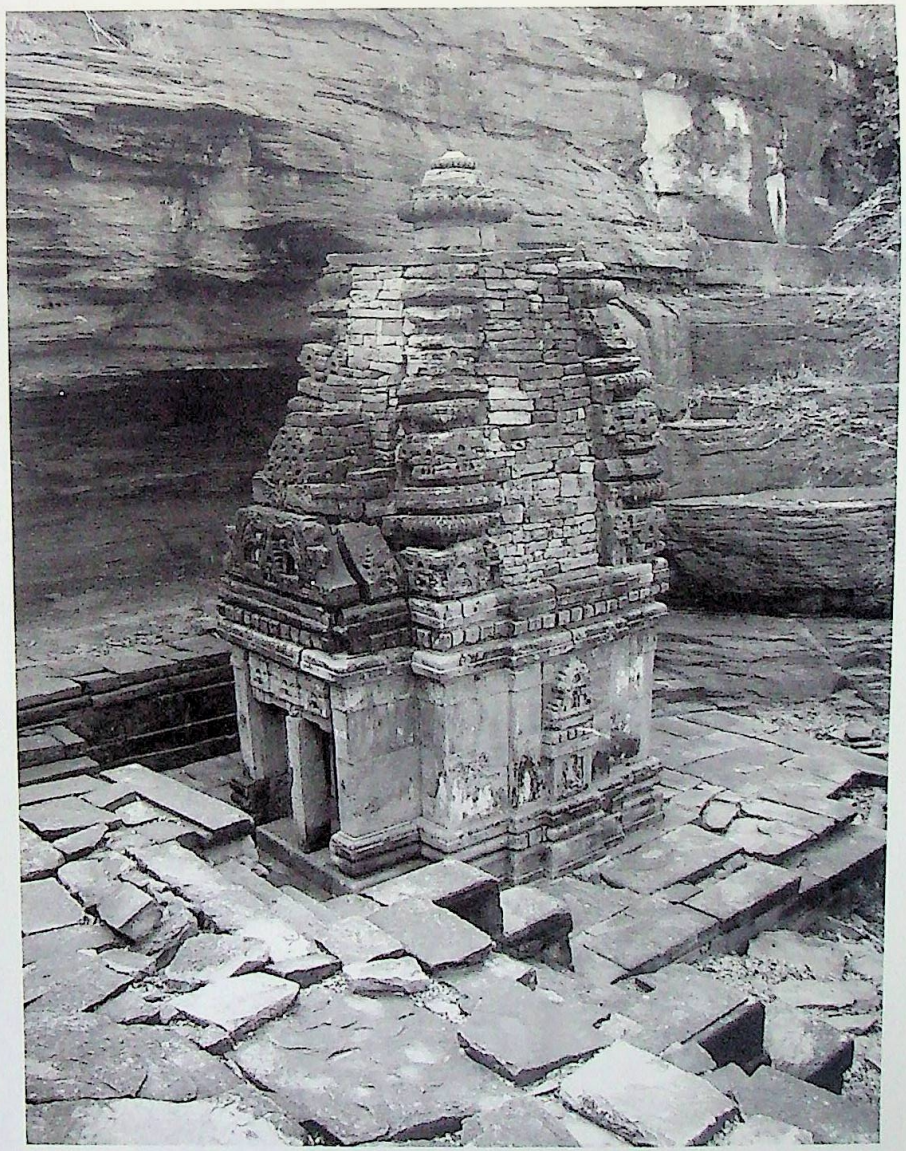
110 West facing temple, with the temple of Mahishāsura-mardini at the back. This west facing temple of Śiva was probably dedicated to Sadyojāta of the Bhairava school. P. 141-145 (Photo R.N.)



111 The east facing temple at the same place. Probarly dedicated to Tatpurusha, Naresvar. P. 141-145 (Photo R.N.)

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112 Śikhara of the Mahishā Śuramardini temple, Naresvar, M.P. (Photo R.N.)

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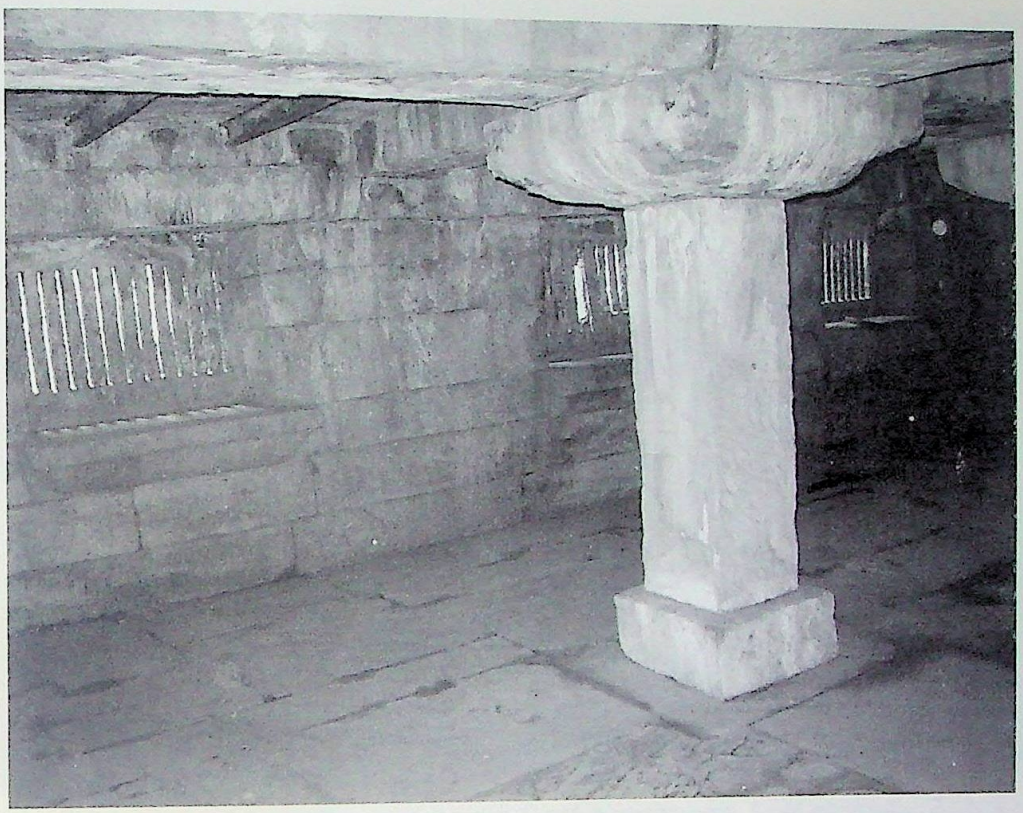
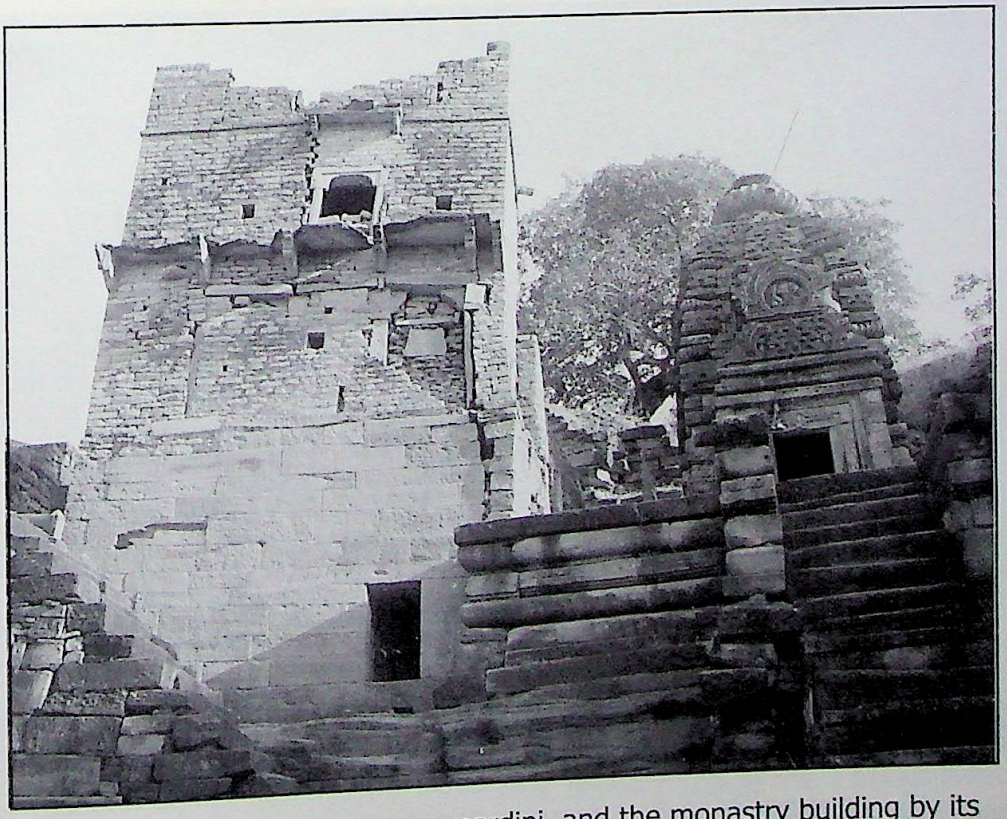


113 Interior of the monastry, survaya, 10th cent. M.P. P. 145-147 (Photo R.N.)



114 The temple of Mahishasura mardini, and the monastry building by its side, Naresvar, near Gwalior. P. 144 (Photo R.N.)

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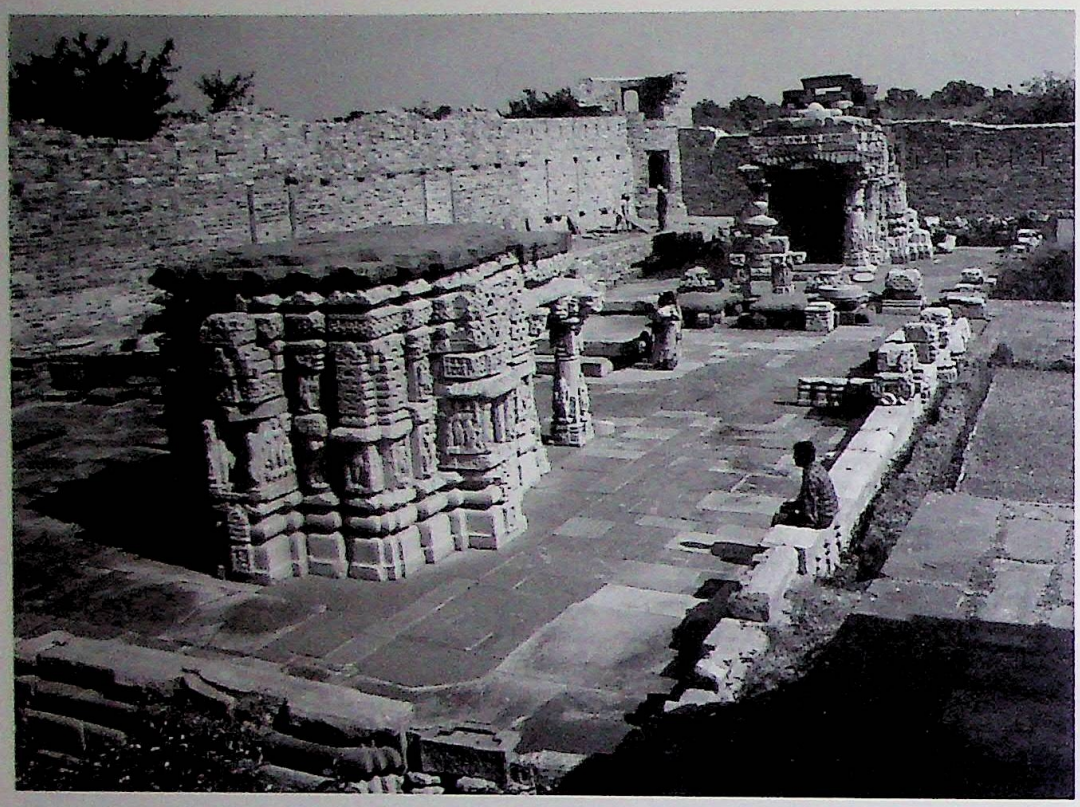
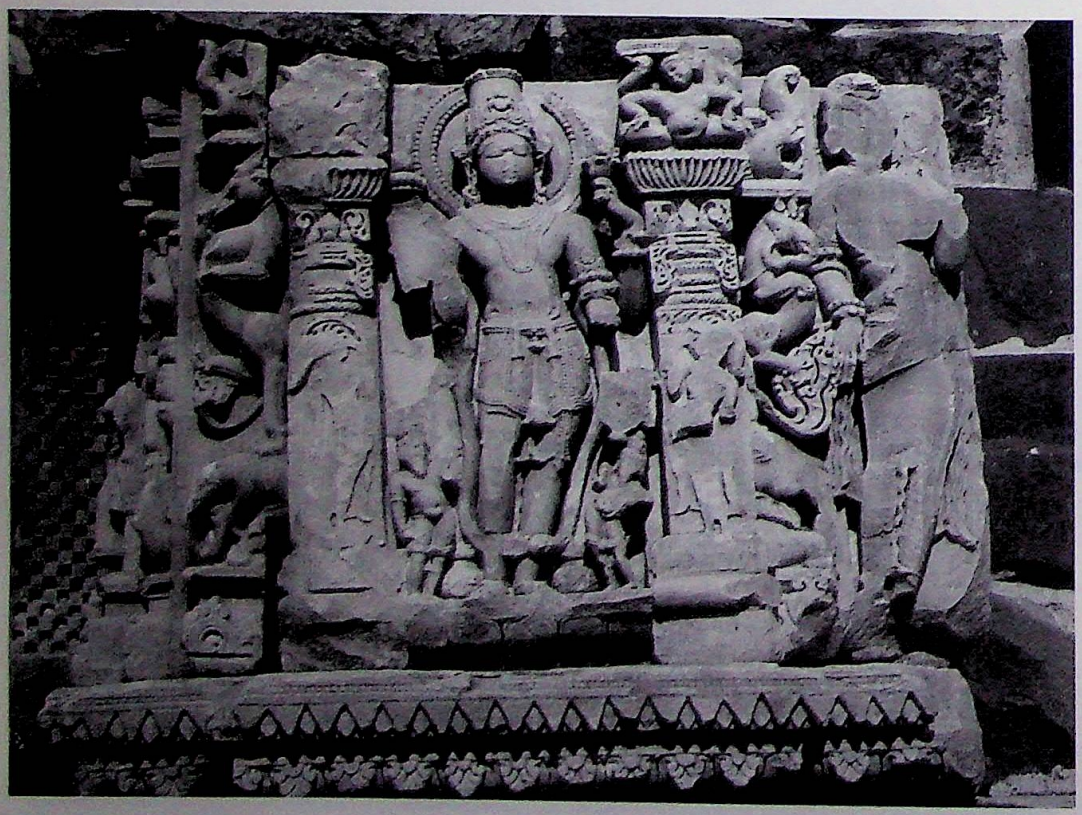


115 Temple No.1 and temple No.2 facing each other at Survaya, dist. Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh. P. 145-147 (Photo R.N.)



116 An image of Vishnu, Survaya, temple No.1 on the north side. P.145-146 (Photo R.N.)

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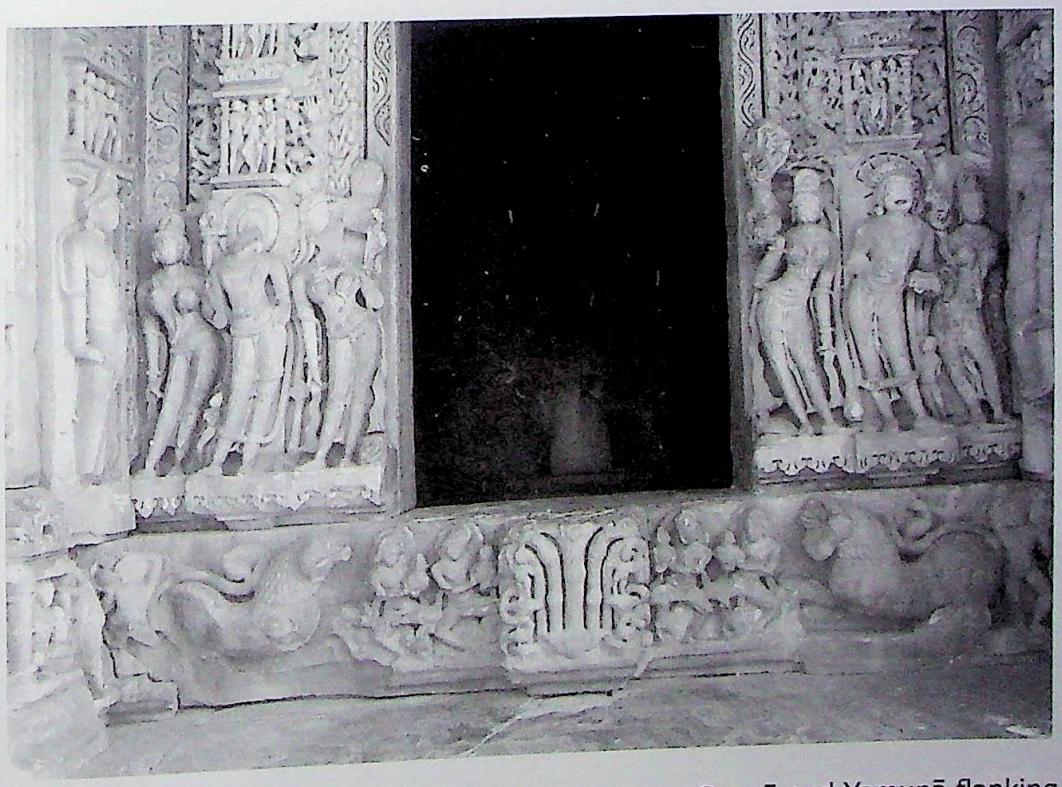
117 Entrance to garbha graha, lintel showing Gaṛudārūda Vishnu below and dancing Siva, above temple No.1 Survaya P. 146 (Photo R.N.)



118 Entrance to the Garbhagrha, lower part, showing Gangā and Yamunā flanking the entrance. The stepping slab showing, the Vidya Padma in the center flanked by lions standing for Dharma and Jnāna, temple 1, Survaya. P. 146 (Photo R.N.)

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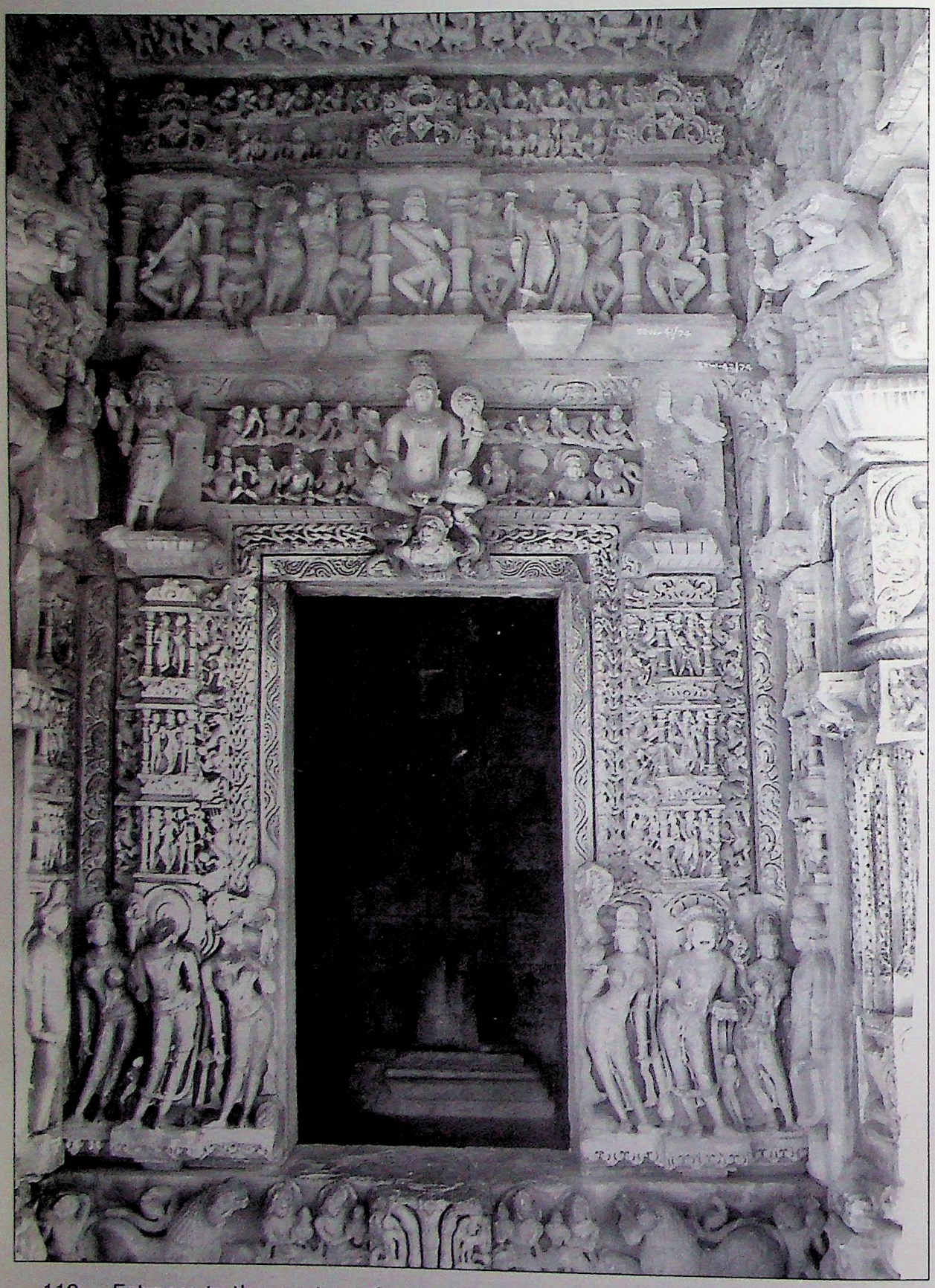

119 Entrance to the sanctum of temple 1, Survaya. Showing the full compliment of deities adorning the sakha frames, under and the base above. P. 146 (Photo R.N.)

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120 Garudarudha Vishnu in the centre of the entrance to the sanctum, temple 1, Śurvaya. Śiva tāndava takes place above. P. 146 (Photo R.N.)

121 Entrance to the sanctum of Mahishasura marni temple, lower part, showing Yamunā standing on a turtle. P. 144 (Photo R.N.)

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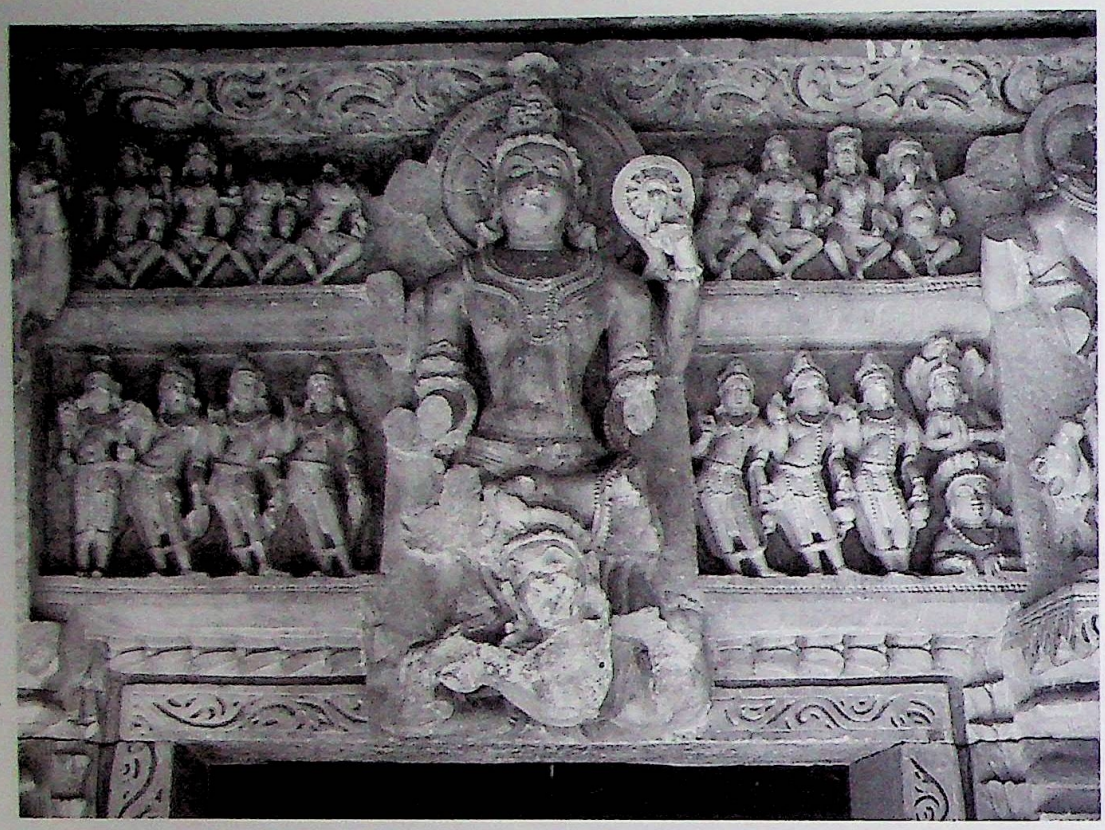
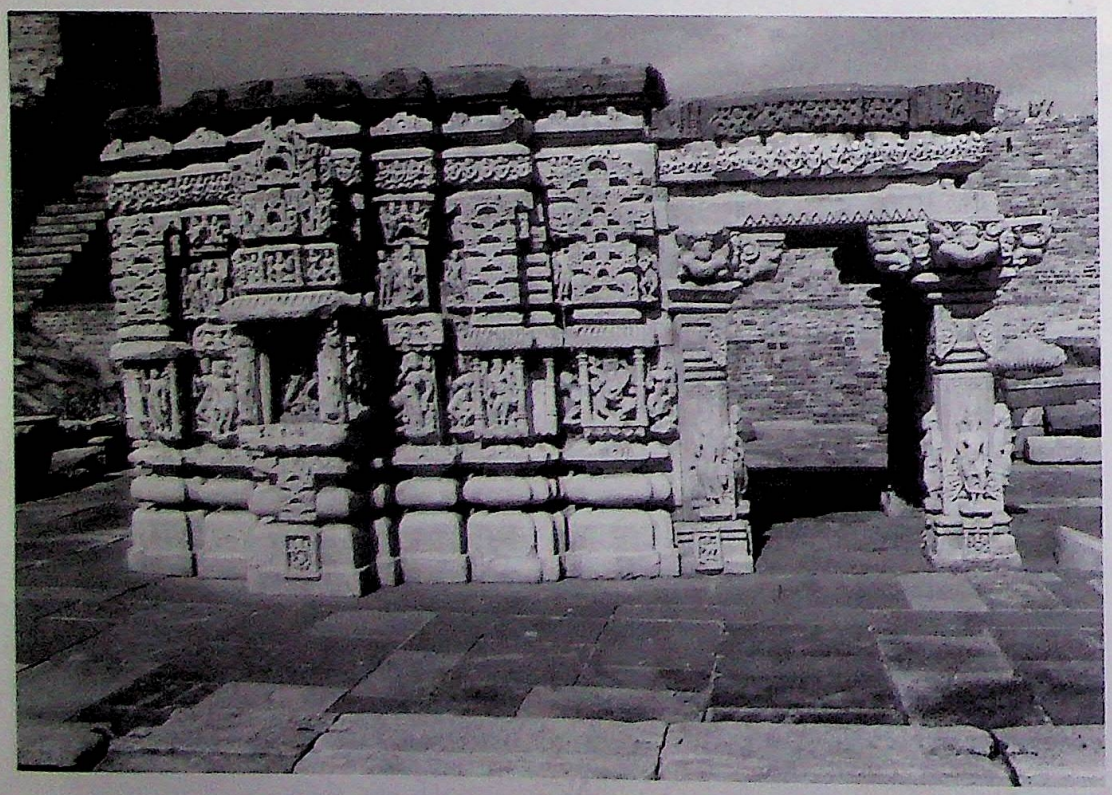


122 Vishnu on Garuda, on the lintel of the entrance to the garbhagraha, temple No. 2, Survaya. P. 147 (Photo R.N.)



123 Temple No. 2, facing west, probably dedicated to Sadyōjāta, Survaya, dist. Shivpuri, M.P. P. 145 (Photo R.N.)

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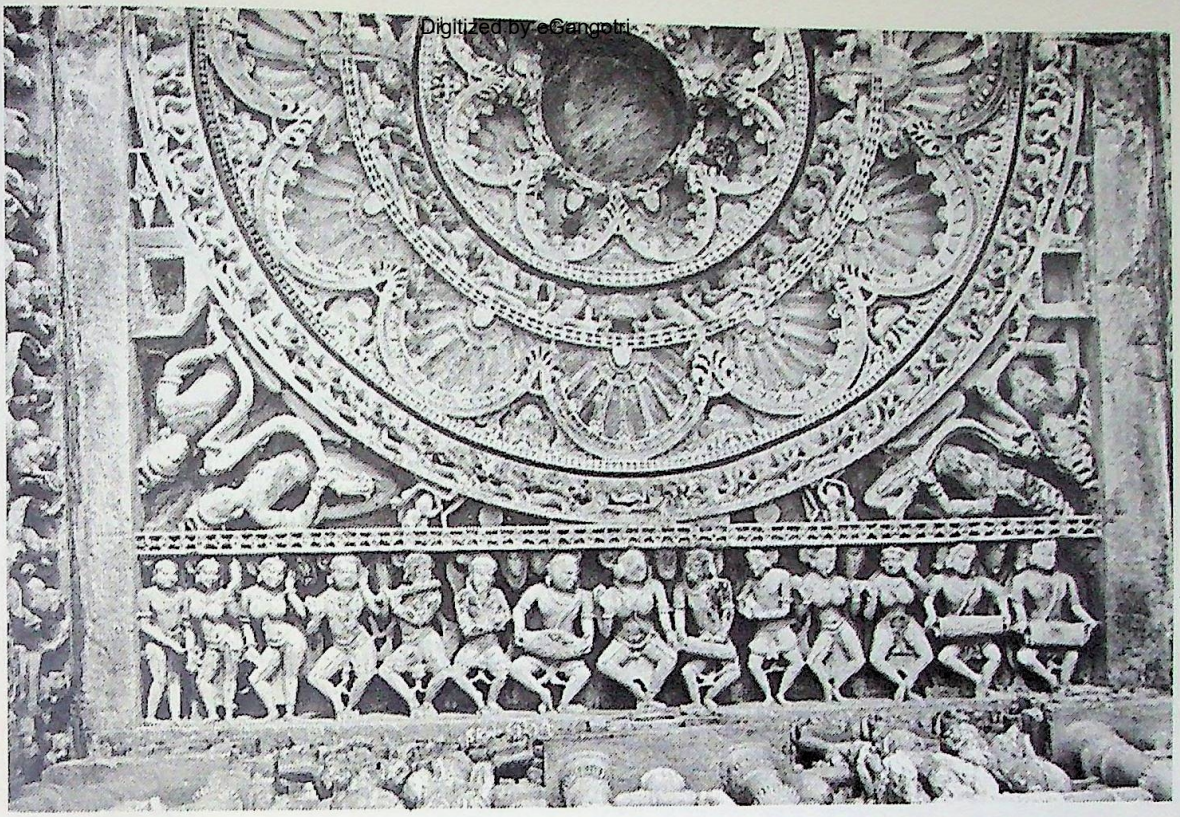
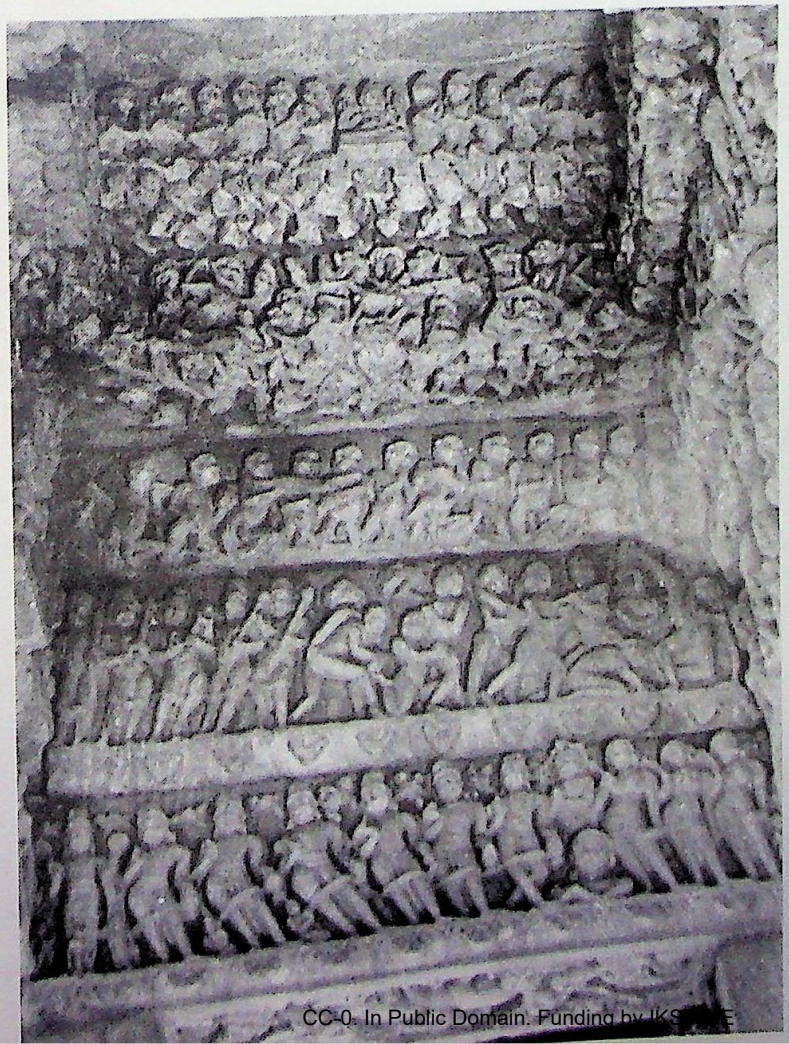


124 Girls performing dance, accompanied by Nātya ācāryas and instumental musicans,Frieze in the ceiling of the temple mandapa, temple no.1 Surwaya, 10th century (Courtesy R.N. Mishra)



125 Dance of Pretas (top, two frieze Padhavali, 10th Century.

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126 Grotesque Preta figures (top frieze), Padhavali, 10th Century, Courtesy, R.N. Mishra

127 Preta and Yogini couples in dalliance (Upper register), Terahi, 11th Century.

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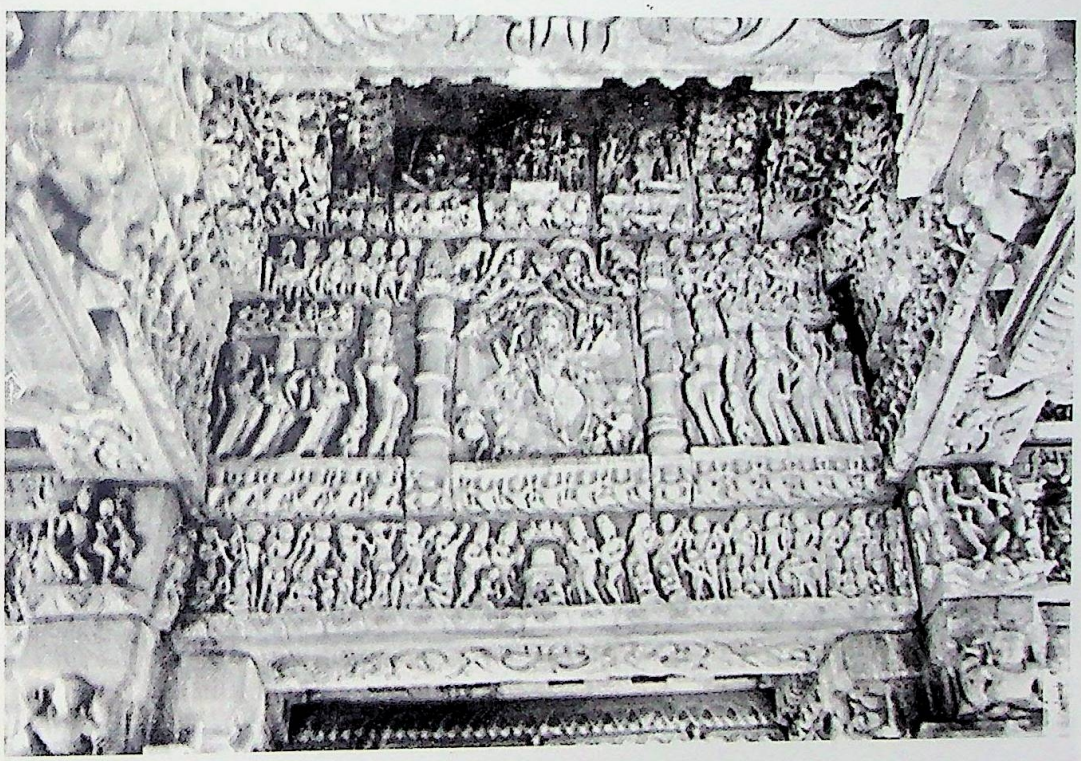

128 Linga-abhisheka, and the Tāndava above, in a mandapa
Padhavali, 10th Century. (Courtesy R.N. Mishra)

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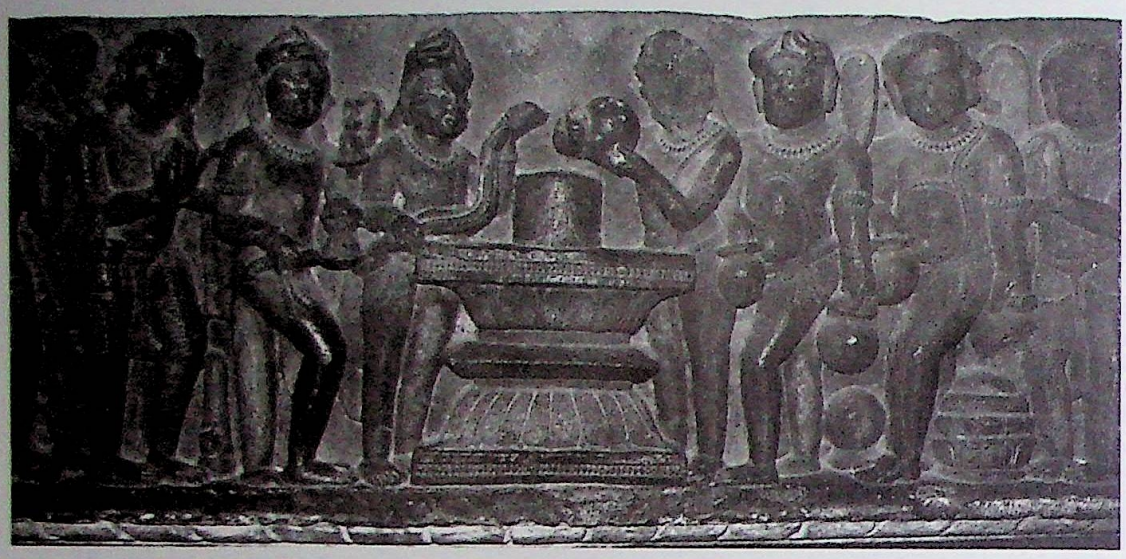

129 Sivācāryas performing abhisheka and puja to a śivalinga.

130 The pancācāryas, sounding the panca mahāsabdas, on the right.

131 Girls performing dance, accompanied by musicians and dance masters. A panel now in the National Museum, New Delhi. (Photo R.N.)

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4

The Art of the Bhairavas

A careful study of the history of Śaivism reveals that there were many sub-sects among Śaivas that came into existence due to diverse approaches to the realization of the Supreme, though all accepted Śiva as the Supreme God. Time and space contributed to these variations as well. Two broad divisions were accepted among these systems one following the calm and quiet path called Saumya School and the second, the wild path called the Raudra School. Both were suited to individual taste and environment. Tamilnadu is mainly a flat country with not much wild forest or intractable regions. People lived on cultivated lands that did not offer that much of terror or fear to them as some other parts of India, which were infested with thick jungles, forests and hills in which people were living in constant fear and expectation of divine support to free them from enemies and natural disasters. The peaceful regional environment was conducive for Tamilnadu seeking after higher knowledge, Jñāna, through the path of Jñāna Mārga Śaivism.

Jñāna-sambandar (F. 1)

The devotional movement of the great Śaiva saints who lived between sixth and ninth cent CE further enhanced this trend. Over twenty thousand delightful songs were composed and sung by the realized souls who propagated knowledge based on devotion as the most important path to attain salvation. The First among the Śaiva nāyanmār was Jñāna-sambandar the poet-child who started singing from his third year due to the grace of God. He received divine milk from Goddess Pārvatī which made him the greatest of Śaiva poets. Ever since he started singing (when he was three), he came to be called Jñāna-sambandar i.e "Poet of Knoweldge". His four thousand and

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odd songs are sung even to this day. He lived around 650 CE. He belonged to Vedic Smārta Brāhmana family of Sirkāli in Tanjore district. Vaidika Brahmanas followed the Jñānānta system of the Vedas, that is the Upanishadic teachings emphasizing Jñāna. One could follow any system of religion or adore all gods as mentioned in *Smritis*, the *dharma śāstras* but must realize that ultimate liberation comes through knowledge. Jñāna-sambandar was steeped in Vedantic thought from his birth and followed the same and blended it with Agamic tradition. Agamas are ritual treatises that were popular even from the beginning of the CE. Therefore, it is said that he came into this world to uphold the Vedic path and blend it with Agamic system. The Supreme principle for the Vedic Brahmins was Knowledge which they visualized as Savitā, the Sun. The only prayer they recite (which is a Vedic hymn) for the past four thousand years is addressed to Savitā, the Sun God, requesting him to bestow critical knowledge. They recite this every day during the three sandhi times (morning, mid day and evening). So Jñāna-sambandar sings in one of his songs that the essence of this hymn is nothing but the five sacred syllables of Śiva, "*Nama Śivāya*".

The story of a child drinking divine milk is associated with three boys in the Śaiva Canon. The first is Kṣhētrapāla identified some times with Bhairava. According to the *Linga-purāna* when Kāli fought a severe battle with Tārakāsura and killed him, her anger did not wane. Instead, she started dancing a ferociously when the whole world started trembling, Śiva took the form of a child, sat in the midst of a field and started weeping. It kindled the compassion of the goddess who fed her milk to the child. Śiva is said to have drunk all the anger of Kāli along with her milk and ever since, he became the protector of cultivated field as Kṣhētra-pāla. Interestingly Sirkāli the birthplace of Jñāna-sambandar is associated with Bhairava who receives regular worship to this day.

The second episode is also narrated in the *Linga-purāna* and concerns Saint Upamanyu. Lord Śiva is said to have offered the entire ocean of milk for the child Upamanyu to drink. As a result Upamanyu became immortal and the principal exponent of Pāśupata cult. Jñāna-sambandar was the third to receive divine milk and he is praised as one who came to spread Śaivam in the world.

Pāśupatas and Kāpālikas in Tamilnad

Similarly his elder contemporary Saint Appar, who lived between the end of 6th and mid Seventh cent, gave foremost importance to knowledge-based devotion. He

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belonged to a traditional agriculturist family that adored Śiva. However, he for some time embraced Jainism and soon mastered all branches of Jaina thought. He was considered the leading luminary of Jaina knowledge. When he returned to his parent faith, he was full of analytical knowledge. Yet he has sung a song that shows his preference for knowledge in an interesting way. He addresses Śiva then.

"Lord, some people worship Thee with knowledge but I am not so knowledgeable. Yet seeing that these men of learning worship Thee, as knowledge incarnate, I too worship Thee with knowledge". It is clear that liberation for the Śaiva saints lay in Jñāna-mārga. There are several hundred poems in the collections of these early saints that extol the greatness of Jñāna. The Tamil country was echoing their verses and thought throughout the length and breadth of the region.

However, it is not that the wild devotees were not in existence in Tamilnadu. Saint Appar himself sings in one of his verses that beautiful dancing girls, singers, priests, other servants of Śaiva temples (called *Rudra-gaṇas*) along with Śaivas, Brāhmanas, Mahāvratins, Pāśupatas, and Kāpālikas.accompanied the procession of the Lord of Thiruvarur, during the annual festival. This is a clear indication that around 600 CE there were Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratins and Kāpālikas mingling freely with others in Tamilnadu. Some Āgamas like Ajita-āgama divide Śaiva system into mainly six divisions as Śaiva, Pāśupata, Sōma Vāmam, Bhairavam, and Lākula. There are variations in the list in different agamas but these divisions are the early divisions noticed. Of these "Sōma" also known as Sōma-siddhānta is considered identical with Mahā-vratins, also called Kālāmukhas, according Veḷli-ambala-vānar, the commentator who is the principal contributor to this study. That shows that as early as sixth cent this six-fold division existed in Tamilnadu.

Temples of Mahākāla in Tamilnad

A few important facts deserve attention at this stage. The Śaiva saints of the seventh cent speak of Mākālam (Mahā-kālam) obviously referring to the temples of Bhairava form of Śiva, (like the Ujjaini Mahākāla), It is possible that these Mahākāla temples followed the Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava system considered more *saumya* oriented than the Vāma Bhairavam. In addition, some temples in Tamilnadu were called "Kāronam" (They were in Kudantai (modern Kumbakonam), and Nagappattinam. Kāronam in Tamil stands for Kāyāvarōhan. It is well known that this term denotes the temple of Lakulīśa Pāśupata who is said to have descended with his own body *(kāya-*

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avarohana) into this world as a Brahmacārin. The temples that followed Pāśupata system and became centres of Lākulam are the Kāroṇam in Tamilnadu. These temples were in existence before the seventh century and had attained fame by the turn of 600 CE. Yet we do not come across the image of Lakulīśa in any of these temples or in thousands of other temples that have survived except in some very rare cases. Hardly two or three Lakulīśa sculptures are noticed in Tamilnadu. That perhaps is an indication that Lakulīśa Pāśupata system was not so influential in Tamilnadu which preferred the benign path. Though the Pāśupatas also worship Śiva as the Primordial deity some branches of them did not find perceptible favour with the people since the food habits associated with them like eating meat and drinking etc were not acceptable to Siddhānta Śaivas.

Further the great Pallava ruler Mahendra-varman (590-630) wrote a fine Sanskrit farce named *Mattavilāsa prahasana* ridiculing the then existing religious systems like the Kāpālikam, Māheśvaram, Bauddham, and others. He gave a clear picture of the Kāpālika way of life and their philosophy which shows that they did exist at that time in some pockets like Kanchipuram. Except for one small shrine in the Ekāmranātha temple complex assignable to the beginning of the 8th cent wherein Śiva and Pārvati seated are shown holding Kāpālas and sword, not much has come down to us. On the other hand, the Kailāsanātha temple of Kanchipuram built by Pallava Rājasimha carries an inscription which says that the king was a follower of "Śaiva-siddhānta-mārga" showing he was a follower of Vedānta Agamic mārga.

Mention may also be made of the existence of eight important temples that existed prior to seventh cent. They are Vīraṭṭānms. **(F. 33)** (Vīra-sthānas) dedicated to Śiva's manifestations in his ferocious form with which he annihilated eight enemies. These relate to the classical puranic stories of samharas and are listed below.

1. Thirukkoyilur - Andhākasura-vadha
2. Thirukkadaiyur - Kāla-samhāra
3. Thiruvadigai - Tripura-samhāra
4. Kurukkai - Kāmāntaka
5. Virkudi - Jalandhara-vadha
6. Valuvur - Gaja-samhāra
7. Pariyalur - Dakṣha-yajña-samhāra
8. Kandiyur - Brahma-siras-ceda

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As these are temples where Śiva manifested in his ferocious form, it is natural to hold that they followed the Raudra philosophy and worship. But in the present state of our knowledge we are not able to say which Agamas they followed.

Two or three other illustrations deserve notice as well. The temple Inscriptions of the King Nandivarman III in the ninth cent at Niyamam near Tanjavur, refers to "Mahākālattu Piḍāri" probably dedicated to Kāli in her Bhairavi aspect. Three dynasties of rulers are seen paying obeisance to her. The Muttaraiyar Chieftains who ruled Tanjavur before it was taken over by the Imperial Cholas were great devotees of Mahākāli as seen from their inscriptions. The second is the Pallava King Nandivarman who visited the temple and paid obeisance to her, gifted some *kalañjus* of gold. The third ruler is Nandivarman's contemporary Ko-Māran-caḍaiyan who (was called Varaguna II,) also visited the same temple and made a gift to it. As this temple is called Mahākāla it should have been a Bhairava temple and the Piḍāri of this Mahākāla should be considered an associate temple with Kāla-Bhairava as the main deity, surrounded by Yoginis. Niyamam is a village near Tanjavur. This writer made a search in the region for locating this sculpture and Yogini sculpture but could not find any.

Another illustration is the installation of Nisumbhasūdani by Vijayālaya-chola the founder of the Imperial Chola line. According to a Chola record he captured Tanjavur and installed an image of Nisumbhasūdani and through her blessings ruled the earth. Luckily, this sculpture is still under worship in Tanjavur as Vaṭa-bhadrakāli, one of the finest sculptures of this theme. It is possible this also accommodated Yoginis. Some Yogini sculptures are still found in Tanjavur town. **(Fig. 15)** It is possible that the cult of sixty four Yoginis was prevelant in the great city of Tanjavur in the 9th cent.

Kālapriya dēva (Fig 32)

I happened to examine a fine sculpture of Śiva with three faces when the Tamilnadu police brought to me some photographs of that sculpture along with over 50 antiquities that were seized by them from an antique dealer. Under instruction from the Inspector General of Police they wanted my expert report on the antiquitites. I could identify the three-faced Śiva immediately as the same one that has been illustrated by T.A.Gopinatha Rao in his "Elements of Hindu Iconography". Rao illustrated this image as from Kaverippakkam in Vol II pt.II. The Police handed over

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the sculpture subsequently to the Madras Museum where it is now kept in a lawn. Rao published this image as Mahēśamūrti. Because of its historic interest and association, I reproduce the good description of this image here.

"Four photographs are reproduced in illustration of the Mahēśa aspect of Śiva: the first is a beautiful figure of stone lying in a ruined Śiva temple at Melaccheri near Kaverippakkam in N.Arcot district. It has suffered damage at the hands of Mussalmans during the troublesome period of the contest for succession to the Navabship of Karnatic. It has, as required, four faces of which three are visible in the photograph. On the crown of the left face could be distinctly seen a big human skull and just below it is the hood of a cobra whereas the middle head has a beautifully tied up *jaṭāmakuṭa* connected with a jewelled disc flower garlands and inevitable crescent moon. At the base of the *makuṭa* may be noticed a row of five or six spherical objects which appears to be the skulls comprising a garland. The third eye is very clearly marked on the forehead of the central face. There are as usual *hāras, udara bandhas,* and *yajñōpavīta etc.* Close to the neck is also a hāra of snake. In the unbroken right hand is visible the *damaru.* One other hand seems to hold a long sword whose upper part is visible on the crown near human skull; this latter itself appears to be the head of a *khatvānga* held by the image in one of its right hand, for it might be noticed there is a base attached to the capital of the handle. Perhaps one hand was held in *abhaya* pose; it is impossible to say what the remaining two other hands might have held; in the unbroken left hands are to be seen the *pāśa*, the *khetaka* the *kapāla* and something which resembles a fruit. One of the left hands showed also carries a long handled object, perhaps a *trisūla* or *paraśu.* There are two legs as described in our authority. The image is seated in a comparatively rare posture. The right and the left faces are pacific, while the middle face is terrific. Pair of knitted eyebrows surmounts its circular eyes; its wide mouth having side tusks; all these indicate according to the rules of the agamas, the terrific *ugra* aspect that in this instance is that of the Aghōra's face. This fine piece of sculpture belongs to the later phase of the Pallava period, perhaps to the reign of Nandivarman, son of Dantivarman (about AD eighth cent)."

Barring a few discrepancies, the account given by Gopinatha Rao is accurate. Even the identification of the central face as terrific Aghōra is correct. However, a few points deserve attention in the light of personal examination of the sculpture. Rao says, "The image has four faces though only three faces are visible". At the back is present an aureole but the sculpture has no fourth face. Therefore, it must be considered a

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Trimūkha image and not a four-faced image. No small skull is there on the left face as suggested by Rao. It is only the hood of a damaged snake held in the hand of the main image. The left arms show a *pāśa,* shield, head and *kapāla*, the fifth hand handles a *vina.* The right arms hold a *katvānga*, *damaru,* dagger, and two objects that are not clear as the hands are damaged. Thus, the figure has ten arms. Rao has drawn our attention to a snake worn as a necklace and the image seated in a peculiar pose, almost like *yōgāsana*. In addition, Rao is right in saying that the central face represents Aghōra's face and the other two are pacific. As the Aghōra face is in the centre, the right face represents Sadyōjāta face and the left one, Tat-puruṣha face. As Tri-mukhas (also called Tri-vaktras) are now known, this image should be identified with three faces only. As the central face is that of Aghōra, the sculpture is Aghōra Bhairava, belonging to the Bhairava school of Śaivism and worshipped according to Dakṣhiṇa tantra.

Kālapriya Temple

It would be interesting to study the village Melaccheri near Kaverippākkam that is the original find spot of this sculpture. The history of Kaverippakkam goes back to the eighth cent as we have an inscription of the Pallava ruler, Nandi-varman II there. Subsequently during the time of Nandi-varman III, in the ninth cent, a portion of the village was reconstituted as a new colony and gifted to a number of Brāhmins under the name caturvedi-mangalam. The Rāshtrakūta emperor, Kriṣhṇa III wrested the region from the Imperial Cholas. Bhūtuka, a feudatory of Kriṣhṇa killed the Chola crown prince Rājāditya, in a battle at Takkolam near this place. A copper plate charter of this ruler issued from Karhad, furnishes a very important information. The record says that at Melpādi (also not far away from this village) he established his camp and built three temples named Kālapriyā, Kriṣṇēśvaram and Ganda-mārtāṇḍam. An inscription of the chola dynasty dated in the reign of Rājakēsari-varman, Sundara Chola, found on the walls of the Sundaravarada-perumal temple in Kaverippakkam, refers to a locality in that village as Kālapriyam which seems to have been a market place. It was more specifically called "Kirtimārtāṇḍa-kālapriya. It is also seen from that record, that the locality housed a deity named Kīrtimārtāṇḍa Kālapriya deva and it mentions a gift made to the deity by a certain merchant in Sirutimiri nāḍu, a subdivision of Paḍūvur kōttam. Sri Venkayya the then Government Epigraphist surmised this temple owed its existence to Kriṣhṇa III (SII x 111-130) Evidently the Rāṣhtrakūṭa Kriṣhṇa built three temples; one was this Kālapriya temple after his title

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Kirtimārtāṇḍa, another to Sūrya named "Gaṇḍa mārtaṇḍa", the third a Śiva temple after his own name "Kriṣhṇa īśvaram. The manifestation of Śiva as Kāla is an attribute of the south facing Aghōra face, which is also identical with Bhairava, called variously as Kāla Bhairava, or Aghōra Bhairava. There could be no doubt that the epigraphical reference is to this sculpture now under discussion. The fight between the Chola and Kriṣhṇa ought to have been a very severe one in which the Rāṣṭrakūta defeated the powerful Chola and dislodged him from the region and that was why probably Kriṣhṇa built this temple to Kāla Bhairava. Also the temple of Mārtāṇḍa built by him was a Bhairava temple.

Yogini Sculptures

It is well known that Jouvew Dubreuil, the French scholar some time before 1930 collected a number of Yōgini sculptures from here which later found their way to western countries. These Yōginis are now housed in different museums of the world particulary in US, UK, France and others. Obviouly all of them formed a group with this Aghōra Bhairava image as Kālapriya dēva. There were other sculptures from the same locality and of the same period that were collected by the Madras Government Museum and they are now exhibited in the Hindu sculpture gallery. Probably the Yoginis belonged to this temple of Kālapriya erected by Kriṣhṇa III. Most scholars assign all the Yogini figures found here (and are now in various Museums of the world) to Pallava-Chola time, ninth cent. However, they belong to the early part of tenth cent is now confirmed by this study. As is clear from the sculptural installation the Bhairava cult flowered in northern part of Tamilnadu.

Kodumbalur Kālāmukha Temple

We have seen that from as early as sixth century various sects of Śaivas were present in Tamilnadu. A few inscriptions suggest that these sects continued to be active in a small way upto the middle of twelfth cent. A village called Kodumbalur near Pudukkottai town, has three lovely temples known to art historians as Mūvar Koyil built by one chieftain Bhūti alias Vikramakēsari. He built the temple group after his own name and after the names of two of his queens. A certain ācārya named Mallikārjuna, of the Kālāmūkha sect (*Kālāmukhādāna* and *Tapōdhana*) who was greatly venerated by this chieftain, inspired him to build this temple complex. The euology of this Ācārya inscribed on the wall of the temple praises him as a great Vedic scholar. The temple and its sculptures are known for their beauty and sobriety. But

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nothing here suggests a Raudra system. It shows that there were *saumya* followers in the Kālāmūkha School as well.

UJJAINI – Mahākālēśvar (F 2-5)

Central India, especially Ujjaini is a very important area in the study of various ramifications of Śaiva Schools. The earliest portrayal of Śiva in India is said to be found at Ujjaini, in a coin, known as "Ujjaini coin". Called Avanti in ancient times, it has served as an important pilgrim centre for Śaivism to this day, in spite of the ravages of time and constant and ruthless destruction in the hands of Muslims. The great Asoka Maurya, started his career as a crown prince here. It seems that this place was a Śiva-kṣhētra even before Asoka. After his conversion to Buddhism, Asoka established a Buddha vihāra at Krishnagiri hill near this town. Huge slabs have been unearthed from here with Brahmi inscriptions, recording gift of Buddha Bhikshus. Several antiquarian remains that reveal the saivite association of the town establish the continuation of the town since then.

One of the most striking find is that of a Nandi, **(F.39)** the bull mount of Śiva, assignable to Maurya-Sunga period 3rd- 2nd cent BCE, now in a temple in the Sāndipani Mahārishi temple complex. This Nandi, standing, shows early characteristics, very close to Asokan art, but at the same time distinctly different from the Buddhist works of Asoka. The presence of this Nandi is an indication of the Śaiva character and judging from the early tradition of associating Ujjaini with Mahākāla, the temple of Mahākāla had been the centre even then. Ever since, the cult of Mahākāla has left an overwhelming presence in the city of Avanti-Ujjayini. The temple of Mahākālēśvar is one of the 12-jyothir lingas of India, where Śiva emanated as a shaft of glowing fire that speaks of the concept of Linga rooted in shaft of fire and not otherwise. Mahākālēśvar linga is considered a Svayambhu self manifest. The present Mahākāla temple is a huge complex, with the main linga facing south and that points to many important branches of Śaivism that are associated with it.

In the worship of Śiva linga the five Brahmams – *Pañca Brahmams* are invoked in order as Tat-puruṣha facing east, Aghōra facing south, Sadyōjāta facing west, Vāmadēva facing north, and Īśāna the sky. Aghōra, is also called Bhairava. It is evident that Mahākāla is identical with Bhairava **(F.3)** and his worship is based on Bhairava Śaiva school. In addition, there are many faiths, concepts, and rituals associated with the Bhairava cult. People hold that Mahākāla of Ujjaini is Śiva as

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Dakṣhiṇāmūrti. In the *Pāśupata sūtras* of Lakulīśa, there is one *sūtra*, which adores Dakṣhiṇāmūrti, *Mahādēvasya Dakṣhiṇāmūrteh*. It seems that Mahākāla linga could have been adored in ancient times from all the four sides and above. All the five faces were adored but now in the first floor of the Vimāna above the Mahākāla linga, is enshrined Omkārēśvara. **(F.5)** The name Omkārēśvara is significant. The Pañca Brahmam jointly represent Sadāśiva form. Sadāśiva according to Āgamas, is the first emanation of Śiva, as "*nāda*" the primordial sound *"Omkāra"*. The name Omkārēśvara of the linga enshrined above Mahākāla indicates that all the five faces were invoked as prescribed with the *Pañca-Brahma-mantras. "Tatpurushāya Vidmahē; "Aghōrēbhyō" "Sadyōjātam prapadyāmi", "Vāma dēvāya namo"* and *"Iśāna sarva vidyānām"*. It is known that the *Pāśupata sūtras* are divided into five chapters, each chapter with one of the *Pañca-Brahma-mantras*. Also according to the Āgamas, Aghōra is the *hrdaya sthāna,* heart of the Supreme '*Aghōra hrdaya*'. So Mahākāla is the heart of the Supreme while Omkāra is the head.

The name Aghōra is often misunderstood as ferocious or terrific but it is exactly the opposite of *ghōra* (terrific). The term Aghōra *"na-ghōra iti Aghōra"* means one who is not terrific or ferocious but benign. But the term is employed to show that this god is furious against the enemies of his devotees. The devotee who is extremely and mortally afraid of his enemy takes refuge in this deity who gives him comfort and security and so men in fear of particularly forest infested or mountainous regions hold this deity as their succor. Mahākāla affords protection to this region.

Mahākāla is also identified with Rudra, as the destroyer of Kāla (time) and (death). Rudra is Agni. I have shown that Agni has two aspects- the terrific and benign, the *Ghōra* and *Śivā* of the Vedas. The forms of Ardhanāri and Harihara are visualized from this inseperable nature of Śiva. In the worship of Mahākāla of Ujjain the priest at times decorates the linga as Ardhanāriśa that emphasizes this concept. Sometimes the decoration takes the combined colour of half-black and half-yellow, Kriṣhṇa-Pingala. **(F.4)** Sometimes it appears as Ghōra the terrific. In the city of Ujjaini there are many wayside temples where the locals worship Bhairavanāth. There are two sculptures of stucco, tastefully painted and worshipped, and the people call one as white and the other as black Bhairavanāth. These seem to be the reflection of Kriṣhṇa and Pingala.

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Yet another interesting tradition at the Mahākāla temple is the Pūja that takes place around 4.30 a.m. in the early morning. After all the *abhiṣhekas* like milk, curd, etc., are performed the deity is decorated. Then is given the *bhasma snāna*-bathing the deity with sacred ash. A cloth is used to cover the decoration, and then the sacred ash is sprinkled all over the linga. This *bhasma snāna* is held very sacred. Though the *bhasma snāna* is given in every Śiva temple as a routine, the special sanctity attached to it at Ujjain Mahākāla temple suggests that it is a Pāśupata tradition that is emphasized. '*trishavanam snāyīta*' i.e bathe three times a day with ashes, is one of the Pāśupata sūtra. It is a *Pāśupata vrata*. Another extraordinary tradition was prevalent here till very recent times.

According to sources, ash from a cemetery used to be brought and used for the early morning bath of Mahākāla. Bhasma from *smasāna* (cemetery) was believed to be sacred for Kāla Bhairava but the modern secular government interfered and stopped it. A bearded recluse who was probably a Bhairava vēṣhadhāri used to bring the *smasāna bhasma*.

Yet another interesting occurrence at the time of bathing Mahākāla with ash in the Mahākāla temple is that women attending the worship in the early morning Pūjā are asked to close their eyes till the *bhasma snāna* is over. Śiva at this stage assumes the form of a naked mendicant, Bhikshāṭaṇa and it is believed that a woman should not see him thus. After the *bhasma snāna* one of the priests carrrying a silver vase in his hand moves in the midst of devotees collecting offerings in cash or kind. The significance of this is generally missed. At this stage the story of Śiva taking the form of Bhikṣhāṭaṇa in the Dārukāvana forest is re-enacted here.

I have shown elsewhere that Śiva assumed the form of Bhikṣhāṭaṇa and showed the efficacy of Pāśupata vrata. The mature Pāśupata-vratins move naked in the midst of men without minding praise or ridicule. The *linga purāna* which narrates this episode, shows that Śiva was behaving as prescribed in the *Pāśupata sūtras*, moving naked, singing, dancing, enticing women with his beauty but remaining absolutely indifferent to anything at this stage. This episode is enacted in the morning worship that calls the women to close their eyes. This episode seems to confirm that the worship of Mahākāla was influenced by the *Pāśupata* system.

In addition, it is recorded that during the Mughal invasion, the temple of Mahākāla was destroyed; the linga was uprooted and thrown into a tank which was

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filled and leveled so that none could know the location. When the Marathas drove out the Mughals and established their rule, the generation of temple priests who had retained the memory of the desecration, pointed out the location, and they dug where the priests pointed out. They were surprised to see the temple tank and the original linga of Mahākāla lying buried. They restored the linga and the worship connected with it.

One may say with certain amount of authenticity, that what is practiced to this day in the Mahākāla temple was what was prevalent before its destruction. It must also be said the temple of Mahākāla has inspired all the temples and worship at Ujjain.

Kāla Bhairava (F. 6 – 8)

The Kāla Bhairava temple too requires attention. Situated on the banks of the Kshiprā river, the temple is said to have been built by Bhadrasena. The *Avanti-kanda* of the *Skandha purāṇa* refers to a Kāla Bhairava temple here. It is said to be one of the eight Bhairavas and Avanti is said to have these eight Bhairavas. The priest is a Caturvēdin, a Vedic Brahmin. He told this writer, that *pañca makāras* were offered in the temple in early days, but of late these have been removed from the temple premises, and if needed offered far away from the temple. However liquor is offered to the deity every day. The main deity is a big stone face **(F.6)** of Bhairava with no body or limbs, which is adorned with cloth and garland. The mouth of the deity is wide open **(F. 7)** into which liquor-wine **(F.8)** is poured in as offering frequently. In front of this deity is a face of the same Bhairava made of silver, decorated and garlanded and is on a pedestal. Regular worship is performed to this processional image.

The agamic texts, give the names of the eight Bhairavas. The *Svacchanda Bhairava* text divides the worship of Bhairava into two categories as Vāma-Bhairava and Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava. It also gives the circle of eight secondary deities around Bhairava bhaṭṭāra.

1. Kapālīśa
2. Śikhi Vāhana
3. Krodharājā
4. Vikarāla
5. Manmatha
6. Mēghanādhēśvara

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7. Saumarājā and
8. Vidyārājā

Kāla Bhairava does not figure among the eight Parivara Bhairavas. The Vikarāla Bhairava might probably be identical with Kāla Bhairava. One important point about this Kāla Bhairava is that it is shown with its mouth wide open. (*see* **page 119**) As this Kāla Bhairava temple used to offer the *Pañca makāra,* till recent times it is likely that it followed the Vāma Bhairava system.

According to the *Svacchanda bhairava* text, all the lokapālas and attendants of Bhairava, are the emanations of Bhairava.

Ghad-kālikā temple (F.11)

Ujjaini is associated with the famous Sanskrit poet–Kālidāsa. According to tradition, Kālidāsa was blessed by Kāli, which enabled him to flower into the greatest poet of India. Kāli is said to have written a *mantra* on his tongue that gave him the poetic faculty. The temple of Ghad-kāli is of the goddess who blessed Kālidāsa in this manner. In the sanctum, only a head represents the goddess with her mouth open, and her tongue thrown out. In front, she has a tiger as her mount. She has two attendant goddesses one on either side. Her temple is well built with the usual northern *śikhara*. On the back wall of the enclosure are some mediaeval sculptures embedded into the wall, showing that the original temple was located at the same site.

Bhartrihari cave. (F 12, 13, 30, 103)

Near the Ghad-Kālikā temple, situated on the bank of the river Kshiprā is the Bhartrihari cave complex monument. There obviously remained an ancient temple at this site as evidenced by several architectural pieces found scattered and also embedded into later walls. In addition, a mound has formed completely covering some ancient buildings. It therefore looks like caves (*guhās*)

At present it is occupied by the followers of Gōrakshanātha who reside there and perform worship etc. It has grown into a complex of unplanned building clusters. The famous Sanskrit poet Bhartrihari is believed to have been a follower of Goraks-hanātha, and is said to have undertaken penance in one of the underground cellars here and hence the complex goes by the name Bhartrihari guhā.

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One has to ascend a few steps and enter into an open yard. On one side of the yard is a modern shrine of Gōrakshanātha, which houses a fine marble image of that saint **(F.12)** that is regularly worshipped. In front of him are a number of small objects of worship including a small Caturmūkha linga. In modern times, this is the principal deity of the group. In front of him on the other side of the courtyard is a small shrine housing Kāla Bhairava in stone. In front of it is a pit in which a linga with Vēdi is found. At the end of the spout of the vedi is embedded on the sidewall an ancient sculpture of Pārvatī. By the side of this group are two interesting sculptures; one represents an architectural piece of the upper part of a temple *śikhara* of north Indian variety, with a sculpture of Śiva performing Kapāla dance The piece is rested on the wall. Over that architectural piece is seen a huge face with rounded eyeballs and open mouth which is now called the Vētāla **(F.13)** (goblin) of the Vikramāditya legend. However, it seems this face was the original Bhairava that was enshrined in the ancient temple and this face, as in the case of Kāla Bhairava, should have been the original principal deity of worship here.

A little away are two underground cellars. These were originally residential rooms, the ceilings of which have now become the floor level. The two cells can be reached by climbing down steps. In one of the rooms so entered one may see an image of Bhartrihari of recent origin that has given the name to the temple complex. In front of it is a Yajña-kuṇḍa – sacrificial altar, **(F.103)** in which dried cow dung cakes are burnt continuously and according to tradition this is being continued from the time of Bhartihari. By the side is a trisūla – (trident) planted. One of the monks of the Ghorahṣhanāth school stays here. Thus this temple complex turns out to be the abode of the Nātha panthis **(F.30).**

Matsyēndranātha shrine

A little away from Gorakshanāth temple, is Matsyēndranāth temple. This is worshipped by both Hindus and Muslims, the latter claiming it as a darga.

Hara-siddhi temple (F.10)

This is a full-fledged temple with a new vimāna. According to tradition, it is one of the Saktipītha; the deity is Pārvatī in her benign form. Only the head of Pārvatī is found in the sanctum. Two goddesses Lakshmi and Saraswati stand flanking the main goddess. According to tradition after the destruction of Dakṣha's sacrifice, when

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Śiva took the dismembered parts of Gaurī and roamed around unable to bear her separation, one of her parts fell here. Even girls belonging to the priests family perform pūjā to the goddess here which is interesting.

Pingalēśvar Temple (F.38, 40 – 44)

About ten km from Ujjaini is the village Pingalesvar, which stands at the start of the Pañca-krōśi-yātra of Ujjaini. The village derives its name from a linga now called Pingalēśvar. This is a remarkable linga of Sadāśiva mūrti, which is dated to the Sunga period 2nd cent BCE. It consists of a tall cylindrical linga with four faces carved at its root. All the four faces are intact and there is no doubt that stylistically it could be assigned to the Sunga period. The four faces exhibit perceptible differences. One face that is pivotal to the identification is shown with beard and prominent jaṭas. The moustache is has pronounced. No third eye is seen on the forehead and the right side of the head has a protruding part, partly damaged and mostly worn out. That might represent a skull. The beard, moustache and jaṭās clearly point out that the face is that of Aghōramūrti. Though the linga is not in its original position, but placed in a later structure the orientation of the linga is correct and the present bearded face, is facing the south, the direction of Aghōra.

The west facing face looks like a young man with a smile and the facial treatment is distinct from the other three faces; there is a big rounded sikhā like knot; a prominent earring is seen on the ears, which is treated differently from the ears of Vāmadēva. The head dress seems to resemble the Barhut sculptures. The ears are shown longer. The Jatās are also treated well.

The face on the north has a feminine countenance with no moustache nor has it a third eye. The eyes seems to be half closed in meditative mood; the difference in expression can be seen when compared to the two other faces. It represents the Vāmadēva face. The fourth face is unfortunately placed too close to the wall leaving no room for a closer examination. Studied with the help of a mirror reflection, the fourth face is also intact but there seems to be no third eye or moustache. It is Tat-puruṣha face facing east. Unusually the four faces are at the root of the cylindrical shaft immediately above the linga piṭha, which also seems to be original with a long spout and circular Vedi. What is further striking is that the top cylindrical shaft is tall well executed with no fifth face. A slight damage on the top rounded part of the linga head, has been cemented, that is noticed on the eastern part. The cylindrical shaft

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obviously represents Īśāna. The importance of the linga is in the Īśāna aspect and may therefore be identified as a perfect example of a Sadāśiva-murti. There is no line or suggestion of a phallus in the upper shaft. This Sadāśiva-murti is an important image from many points of view. As mentioned earlier the Īśāna part i.e. the cylindrical part is the main part (*pradhāna*) and all the other faces including that Agōra exhibit calmness. The image was obviously worshipped by the benign followers of Śaivism (*Saumya*) and not the Raudra, who emphasized the knowledge (*Jñāna - siddhānta*). As the image is dated stylistically to 2nd cent BCE it is evident the *Saumya* branch of śaivam had taken deep root even during the Sunga period. The second point that deserves attention is the non-phallic imagery of the linga. Neither phallic form is noticed nor the lines that suggest the same are found. It is known that the phallic form of linga is found at Gudimallam, and that image is also ascribed to 2nd cent. BCE. It must now be accepted that two schools of Śaivas, one worshipping non phallic Śivalinga, and the other worshipping phallic form were in existence in the Sunga period. It is also seen that the *Linga purāna* speaks of different schools of Śaivas including the followers of nudity. It mentions the followers of nudity should not be ridiculed. It suggests that not all were followers of nudity, and some even ridiculed such followers, hence *Linga purāna* prohibits disrespect.

The third point that emerges from the image is the emphasis on Jñāna. Lakulīśa is generally ascribed to first cent BCE on the basis of an inscription mentioning his disciples. The *Linga purāna* and other purānas show that he was not the only teacher who expounded the Pāśupata system but there were many before him. We have also seen that even in the time of Lakulīśa or immediately following him, different sects arose like Vaimalas, Kārushya and others. The present study admits that even before the current era (BCE) different sub schools among the Śaiva were prevalent and different forms of Linga worship was also prevalent. The origin of the Pāśupata system is rooted in the Vedic system, and that it is as a result of Rudra destroying Tripuras, during the course of which he assumed the leadership of devas as Paśupati. I have also shown that the concept of Rudra as Paśupati arose from the concept of Agni Rudra identity mentioned several times in the Vedas.

Further, the earliest legend mentions Rudra emanating from Linga, appearing in the Lingodbhava form when Brahma and Viṣhṇu were quarrelling among themselves over Lordship. The Lingodbhava form arises from the identification of linga with a shaft of fire as Jyotir-linga and not as phallus. This sculpture of Pingalēśvara from

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Ujjaini and its analysis would show that the origin of linga is not rooted in phallic cult but in adoration of fire.

Siddhavaṭa (F.9)

On the banks of the Kshiprā river at Ujjaini is another important site named Siddhāvaṭa. At the root of a banyan tree here is an image of Agōra/Bhairava worshipped by the people of Ujjaini. According to tradition when Aurangazeb conquered Ujjaini, he was struck by the influence of the site on the people and wanted to destroy their faith and considered this tree as the important symbol he should destroy. He cut the tree up to its root and further poured molten iron on the root so that the tree would never again sprout. However, the tree grew up again to the surprise of all and that is the tree now under worship. There are a few ancient sculptures at the site pointing to its antiquity. Above all the people of Ujjaini offer last rites to their departed parents and relatives here and so the site is held very sacred.

Mangalnāth temple. Another interesting temple at Ujjaini is the temple dedicated to Mangala, the planet Mars (presiding deity of Tuesday). It has a regular *śikhara* and other features where the main deity is the Planet. The sanctum enshrines a Linga representing the planet Mars. The name of the deity is called Mangal-nath, the appellation "nath" showing its connection with Vāma School of Bhairavam, identical with Nātha Panthis. We have noted that all deities in the worship of Bhairava are a form of Bhairava. The representation of the Planet as a Linga would serve as an illustration here.

Sāndipani Āshram (F.39)

Very great sanctity is attached to the complex of a building called Sāndipani āshram, where Lord Sri Krishna, and his brother Balarāma are said to have studied under Maharishi Sāndipani, in the company of Sudhāma. Modern images of Maharishi Sāndipani, Kriṣhṇa, Balarāma and Sudhāma installed receive worship. There is an ancient temple in the complex, which is the oldest in the group. A linga occupies the centre of the sanctum. There are three sculptures of Viṣhṇu inside on the back wall of the sanctum. The central image is that of Vāmana, which is of considerable antiquity. The other two sculptures are mediaeval ones, probably of 12th cent. On the sidewall is another sculpture of a dwarfish God, probably Kubera, coeval with Vāmana. Facing this on the other wall, is an image of Viṣhṇu, of the same age.

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An image of Śiva on one side and Umā Mahēśvara on the other, both assignable to 10th cent, are in the *maṇḍapa* outside flanking the entrance. It is here the vehicle of Śiva, Nandi of the Mauryan age stands facing the linga inside.

It may be mentioned that lord Kriṣhṇa learned Pāśupata yoga of worshipping Śiva-linga from Upamanyu Maharishi. Many purānas and Mahābhārata portray Kriṣhṇa as a great Pāśupata. It is therefore not surprising the place of his studentship, namely Ujjaini was also the place of Kriṣhṇa's boyhood. The Śiva-linga and Nandi in the temple at the Sāndipani āshram, recalls Kriṣhṇa as a Pāśupata. Another interesting point is the form of Vāmana of Viṣhṇu. Vāmana is Brahmacāri, who is a student. The presence of Vāmana inside the sanctum with the Śiva linga in the centre thus assumes significance.

Kāpāla dance (F. 73 – 75)

There is an architectural piece, probably belonging to the *śukhanāsa* part of a temple śikhara in the Bhartihari cave complex by the side of Kāla Bhairava and what is now called Vikramāditya vētāla. It depicts eight-armed Śiva dancing in the centre. **(F.73)** It is a *Catura-tāndava* Śiva holding a *kapāla*, in his front right arm and a Khatvānga in the main left. The fingers of the main left arm are touching the *kapāla*, held in the right arm suggesting the importance of *kapāla*. The second pair of arms at the back holds what seems to be a *paraśu* and is also fastened to a handle. Beneath the front right arm is another arm holding *trisūla* and correspondingly the left holds a *khatvānga*. The fourth pair of arms at the rear are raised up and hold a snake. The face of Śiva lightly tilted to the right is charming and benign. The head wears a garland of skulls; to the right of Śiva is a human figure dancing by his side and to the left stands the Nandi, with its head turned and looking up to its master dancing. This central panel of Śiva is framed by two pilasters and beyond are seen two cāmara-dhārinis dancing on either side. The whole group is enclosed by three rows of circular *prabhā* probably representing Candra, Sūrya, and Agni maṇḍalas. The dance pose of Śiva is depicted by a master artist who had absolute control and perception of dance *karaṇas* and also had the ability to portray it in stone. It is certainly a great depiction of the Kāpāla dance of Śiva, adored, worshipped and imitated by Kāpālika vratins. It would also suggest the presence of Kāpālika followers at Ujjaini in mediaeval times 10th – 11th cent.

The sculpture of Kāpālika dance at Ujjaini, should also be seen in the light of another superb sculpture of the same dance, at Bhopal State Museum. **(F. 74)** The

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sculpture comes from in Madhya Pradesh. Unfortunately, the right leg and the principal right arm are broken. It is a remarkable piece, representing probably *catura-tāndava*. The left leg is probably planted on the back of a dwarf. The left arm extended is partially damaged but points down. As the hands are badly damaged, it is difficult to be precise but it seems the God is eight armed, holding *trisūla, khatvānga*, *pāsa* and other emblems. The turn of the body and bend of the head, portray perfect rhythm and delightful movement. The gentle turn of the head to the left is graceful and shows a master hand at work. The head is adorned with a prominent garland of Kāpālas, suggesting the dance is the kāpāla dance. Two pilasters frame the image suggesting it was on the wall part of the temple. Above the pilasters are shown two garland bearers on either side. The god has a *prabhāvalī* around his head. Kāpāla dance the presence of this sculpture and the one at Ujjain shows that Kāpālika sect had considerable following in Central India.

An enchanting representation **(F. 75)** of the same theme in stone, coming from Indragar dist Mandasor, is now in the State museum, Bhopal. Dated to 8th cent, this sculpture portrays a four armed Śiva dancing the Kāpāla dance. The God holds the Kapāla in the left hand, and probably dhvaja on a long handle in the left arms and Akshamala and trisula on the right hand. To the left of the god is seated the goddess playing on lute while to the right is kneeling patron devotee in adoration. The Kapāla and akshamālā in the main right arms indicate the nature of Śiva's dance. Yet another illustration points to the influence of Kāpālika in central India.

Aghōra / Bhairava (F.59)

An important image of Aghōra is in the central museum, Nagpur, illustrated as fig. 81, in the Centenary volume (Satabdi Kaumudi) published by the centenary celebration committee, Central museum, Nagpur, 1964. There is only a brief mention of it as "Mukhalinga from Nemar 12th cent A.D. included among the noteworthy sculptures of the Museum". (p.184). It represents a bold face, with a high *Jaṭāmakuṭa*, emerging from a linga. The *Jaṭāmakuṭa* is well treated and with two chains crossing each other in the front; on its upper part is shown the crescent moon, and beneath it is a *śikhāmaṇi*. The bottom of the *Jaṭāmakuṭa* is adorned with a band of awful skulls, interspersed with precious jewels, a fine suggestion of the embodiment of Rudra, the terrific, and Saumya the benign, both appearing in the same ornament. Both the eyes are wide open while the third eye on the forehead is treated equally boldly. The mouth

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is slightly open with the teeth visible, adding a fierce look. On both the ears are seen serpents as ear ornaments. What is impressive is the cylindrical shaft of the linga gently rising at the back, almost appearing as the crown of the figure. The image is shown only upto the neck and hence the authorities have described it as just Mukha linga.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch published the same image in her book "The Art of India" Tradition of Indian sculpture, painting and Architecture, published in London Fig. 142 almost ten years prior to this publication. In her illustration the raised eyebrows, the fully opened eyes, the opened mouth and the protruding teeth are very well brought out. Stella Kramrisch gives the following description in the book.

"Mukhalingam from Nemad, now in Nagpur museum; black basalt, highly twelfth century or earlier, height 22 1/2 inches. The linga has one face, it is an Ekamukha linga, the face is that of Bhairava, a diadem of skull circles the linga of which the crown of matted hair forms a frontal shield as the face emanates from the Linga,"

It is undoubtedly one of the Pañca Brahman, the Aghōra face facing South. Aghōra is also called, Rudra or Bhairava, and represents the fierce form. According to texts he is terrific and destroys all impurities and impediments thereby bestowing grace on the devotee to whom he is benign The Aghōra is defined as one who is benign and not ferocious *na-ghora iti Aghōra*. The correct identification of this figure of mukhalinga is Aghōra-Bahurūpa.

The presence of Aghōra is invoked through Aghōra *mantra* that is said to be very effective. Mention has been made earlier that the text *Sarva Siddhānta vivēka* speaks of four kinds of Bhairava Śaivam, *Dakṣhiṇam, Gāruḍam Vāmam* and *Bhūta-tantram*. The southern face namely the Aghōra face should be worshipped according to *Dakṣhiṇa Tantra*, for the successful cure of fever, poison etc, through medicine and incantations and also success. The same results are also mentioned for the worship of Aghōra face by the *Svacchanda Bairava tantra*, though it does not refer to the *Dakṣhiṇa tantram* by name.

Tan mantra aushada samsiddham cikitsā jātam uttamam
aghora rūpam tu param Brahma Dakṣhiṇam tu jagatpatih
Sādhakaih pūjanīyah syād svābhīshṭa prasiddhaye. SSV.

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It may also be mentioned that the Aghōra face is also called the Kālāmukha and the worshippers of the Aghōra face are Kālāmukhas **(see page 38, 94)** It may therefore be called Aghōra linga that was worshipped by the Kālāmūkha school of Śaivas and probably used *Dakṣhiṇa tantra.* It may not be wrong in considering this Aghōra as belonging to the Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava sect.

Sadyōjāta (F.14,15,18)

A remarkable sculpture in the Gwalior museum represents a cylindrical shaft, with leaves like fans and slates on all the four sides. There were originally four faces, one in each direction; all of them have been chopped off, indicating a clear case of vandalism. Beneath one of the lost faces, is a beautiful reclining bull, whose head has also been lost. However that it represents a bull is clear from its legs and the reclining posture. The sculpture has not yet been properly identified. It comes from Tumain, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh. Before we attempt identification, it is necessary to mention that it is an excellent work of art, bold in perception and execution. Every line and form are well defined and deeply incised to give it a fine plasticity.

The sculpture represents a very well executed palm tree with its leaves well spread as fans but what is more significant, it had four faces, each facing a cardinal direction. Unfortunately, vandals have chopped off all the four faces. Exactly beneath one face, is depicted a beautiful reclining Nandi whose head has also been destroyed. I must mention that it is an excellent study of the animal, almost reaching the same perfection as that of Rampurva bull of the Aṣokan age.

Jitendranath Banerjee has described this sculpture in his book on "Development of Hindu iconography." (Reprinted Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers New Delhi 1973, p. 424).

"A figure of Balarāma, somewhat similar to the above was discovered at Tumain Gwalior, Madhya pradesh and is now in the Gwalior Museum. A very striking exhibit in the same museum is the Fan-Palm capital (*tāla-dhvaja*) which is the special cognizance of this god. It is of about the second century BCE. A bunch of palm leaves are very realistically depicted, but what is of particular interest in this sculpture is the headless figure of a donkey which evidently is the ass-demon Dhenuka killed by Balarāma by hurling it against a fan-palm tree (pl. XVII - F.3, p. 424)".

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The sculpture is assigned to first cent CE, and is identified as the Tāladhvaja of Balarāma. Fascinating as the identification is, it does not refer to the four head-like portions found exactly in four directions with the upper part of the tree surviving as the central shaft. Also the presence of the animal exactly beneath one of the faces.

I would identify this image as a Caturmukha linga, with the face of the animal below serving as the main front face and this face is that of Sadyōjāta Śiva. Sadyōjāta, it must be remembered is Nandi-vaktra. Sadyōjāta is otherwise called alternately Nandi and the face is Nandivaktra. (*Viṣhṇu-dharmottara-purāna* Ed. *Priyabala sha*, Gackwad - Oriental series Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1994 - P. 166 Ch. 48, V. 5)

Paschimam yanmukham tasya, Nandi vaktram taducyate (5)
..... *Nandi vaktram tathā vāyuh* (8-1)

This indicates that the Sadyojāta/Nandi face is the personification of wind – Vāyu who is indicated by the palm fan. In all probability, the sculpture in the Gwalior Museum represents Sadyōjāta form.

That it does represent Sadyōjāta may be demonstrated from a few other examples. A fine image of Bhairava now in the Berlin museum **(F.18)** is a good example of this representation. It represents a standing Bhairava with four arms holding *sūla*, *damaru, kapāla* and hand on thigh. That it represents Bhairava is evident. But the most important factor is that the image is flanked by two palms which are unusual. (Treasures of Indian Art, Germany's Tribute to India's cultural heritage, National museum, New Delhi, 1998, No. 46, p. 48). That this image is said to come from Madhya Pradesh (Central India) That gives the clue to the identification of the sculpture with Sadyōjāta. As the representation is that of Bhairava, it is evidently an image belonging to the school called the Bhairavam with each face worshipped as per Bhairava School. Sadyōjāta is worshipped according to *Bhūta tantra* to drive away the evil effects of bhūta, prēta, and pisāca. shows that the Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava School was very influential there in that past.

The Sadyōjāta / Palm tree / Caturmūkha in the Gwalior Museum would be one of the earliest representation of this theme.

Another palm tree - Sadyōjāta (F.17) There is another example of this type now on exhibition in the Bhopal State Museum. It also portrays a central tree-like shaft around which four palm leaf like fans are shown. The central shaft clearly looks

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like a linga. It has no other carving. Both in form and style it is almost exactly the same as the Gwalior one. According to the Museum authorities the Gwalior one came from Gwalior region. The Museum authorities at Bhopal told me that the one at Bhopal came from Gwalior. What ever the case may be the worship of Sadyōjāta as a deity of importance in the region is proved by both these sculptures which need to be placed in the second cent. BCE. This should be studied in the light of some other interesting sculptures coming from the same region.

Rudra Śiva (F.23)

An extraordinary but awesome figure of Bhairava from Talegaon, Dist. Bilaspur is under worship in the local temple. A replica of this sculpture is on diplay at the Bhopal Museum. It is one of the rare figures of Indian Art. Even a most modern artist, would be astonished to see this visualization of Central Indian Art of the sixth cent.

It portryas a gigantic standing image, clearly that of Śiva. The robust figure wears *Jaṭāmakuṭa* with a coiling serpent at the base of *jatā*. The raised eyebrows and rounded eyeballs have in between what looks like a lizard forming its nose, the tail stretching over the jatā-makūṭa. Between the thick lips protrude serrated canine teeth. The earlobe is made up of a peacock while the shoulders are made up of crocodile mouths. Two well spread hoods of snakes rise from the shoulders; the chest is made of two human heads and the round big belly is made of a head resembling a pot; the two plump hands hanging down hold lengthy snakes, one on each side. The penis is shown erect almost touching the lower lip of belly. Both the thighs show a belt of skulls going around and falling on them. On the knees are lion faces.

This extraordinary figure, a masterpiece that probably represents Aghōra Bhairava, should have inspired a sense of security and comfort in the forest dwellers.

Bhairavi Rudrāni (F.24)

This sculpture should be studied in association with another sculpture in similar style, acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi. The sculpture portrays a standing Aghōra Bhairavī with four arms, the right arms holding *sūla* and snake, while the left holds *kamaṇḍalu* and a *daṇḍa*. Both the rear arms hold severed human heads by their hair. The head wears a huge garland of skulls, while in the centre of the matted head is seen a crescent moon. A third eye is seen on the forehead of the goddess who is shown

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with plumes like Rudra Śiva. On either side of the leg lions are portrayed. According to the Museum label, the sculpture is said to come from Madhya Pradesh. It is not unlikely this sculpture also comes from the same region of Madhya pradesh as the Aghōra Bhairava / Rudra Śiva.

Obviously the inspiration for such awesome portrayals should have come from the dacoit-infested wild forests of Madhya-pradesh.

Three headed – Śiva (F.60)

A three-headed Śiva image in grey schist, ascribed to 2nd cent, and to Gandhara school, now in the collection of Berlin Museum, was exhibited in "Treasures of Indian Art, Germany's tribute to India's cultural heritage". It is also illustrated in the Catalogue of the exhibition, (pub. by National Museum, New Delhi, 1998). It appears as figure 19. As it is a very important sculpture, I give below the salient points of the image as given in the catalogue entry by Raffel Dado Gadebusch.

"This rather rare figure of a Hindu deity represents Shiva, one of the Hindu trinity. Like all stone sculptures from Gandhara, this small figure, worked in high relief is made of grey schist typical of the sculptures of the region. Stylistically it reveals Hellenistic Roman influence. This sculpture of high aesthetic quality, despite its small size, and irrespective of damage is very expressive. The wide open eyes and the moustache, are features which can also be found in the early Buddha and Bodhisattva images.

The identity of the sculpted figure as Shiva is confirmed by the characteristic attributes. Originally, the figure had four arms, now only two remains; he holds the trident (*trisūla*) in the right hand and a small receptcle (*kamaṇḍalu*) the elixir of life or holy water in his left. The long hair is petted high on top of the head in the ascetic style with the help of a hair band and is stylistically in the shape of flames. In the centre of the forehead, is a horizontal third eye. There is no doubt that this figure of Shiva seeks to emphasize his image as an ascetic. The figure wears no ornament except the sacred thread (*upavīta)* which passes from the left shoulder across the naked torso and a piece of cloth draped over the left upper arm. The figure is clothed only in a striped tiger skin loin cloth out of which protrudes an erect phallus.

The very complex iconography of Shiva which is difficult to explain is further complicated by two animal heads, emerging laterally from behind his human head.

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The head on the right is that of a lion while the other seems to be of an antelope" (p. 29).

Two interpretations are suggested in this catalogue. One suggests that the two animal heads portray Shiva as lord of animals, Paśupati. The second suggests the sculpture could denote a composite figure meant to symbolize the Hindu trinity. Śiva is at the centre, Viṣhṇu represented by the lion's head, and Paśupati or Brahmā by the head of the antelope. This interpretation was suggested by Heartel. A third interpretation is also suggested that it could be both the theriomorphic heads embodying the two opposing aspects of Shiva's nature - the antelope indicative of the mild and the kindly (*saumya*) while the lion representing the powerful and the aggressive *(ugra)*.

But as has been identified by me with the help of *Iśāna-gurudeva-Paddhati*, this represents Bhairava, whose right head is that of a lion as prescribed. The left, head identified as an antelope, is in reality a wild boar. In both the cases this head represents the Vāma dēva / Umā. The head gear resembling the flames, accentuate the Agni / Rudra aspect of Bhairava. As this sculpture is assignable to 2nd cent, CE, the sculpture also shows the antiquity of Bhairava cult.

A Rare form of Trivaktra (F.61)

A remarkable three headed image of Śiva from Kashmir was included in an exhibition 'Manifestation of Śiva' organised at Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1981. The image was identified as Harihara in the Catalogue **(Fig. 19).** The sculpture has a human head in the front, a lion's face on the right and a Varāha face on the left.

In this connection it is interesting to note the description of a Sadāśivamurti or the Caturmukha linga as given in the *Iśāna-gurudēva-paddhati.* The face should have three eyes and a matted head dress (P.389). The head on the right should have a lion's face representing Aghōra. The face should have a terrifying look and with manes. The tongue should be thrown out licking. The headdress should have snakes and a garland of skulls. The Vāmadēva face should resemble that of a beautiful woman and the Sadyōjāta face that of a full moon.

The Mukhalingas could have one, two, three, four or five faces. A temple with a single entrance could have Eka-mūkhalinga or Tri-vaktra enshrined. From this presecription we learn that three faced images (now called Tri-mukhas) were accepted

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canonically for worship and represented as Tri-vaktra. The point of interest is the description of Aghōra face appearing as a lion. This is a rare but recorded tradition. The right face in the Kashmir sculpture is that of lion, Aghōra. The face on the left is evidently that of Vāmadēva Viṣhṇu since the right is shown as a lion and the front as a humān face, the one form of Viṣhṇu that could be taken to balance the left is obviously the Varāha. Its presence shows that textual tradition describing the face as Varāha could have existed but has not been identified so far. The front face is that of Tat purusha. **(See Page 122)**

Tat-puruṣha (F.47)

Pratapaditya pal illustrates a delightful Eka-mukha linga in Pan Asian collection (Bronzes of Kashmir, Mushiram Manoharlal, New Delhi - 1975). He assigns the sculpture to 8th - 9th cent. The image consists of a *pīṭha* from which emanates a linga, and a two armed Śiva shown up to the waist appears in the front. The right hand holds a rosary of beads which at the same time is suggestive of both *cin-mudrā* (expounding the highest knowledge) and *abhaya-mudra*. The left holds *bīja-pūraka* citron fruit. The *upavīta* on his body seems to be a snake going over the left shoulder and falling over the waist. The *kēyūra* (armlet) is near the shoulder. A garland of heads adorns his neck. Pal draws our attention to two snakes cascading his locks. The prominent ear ornaments are studded with precious gems. Pal also notes that the eyes are highly suggestive. A crescent moon is shown in the front above the face band. Facing the front it adds a beauty to the crown and above the moon is seen a circular wheel which might represent the sun and within the sun seems to be a skull and a lotus bud topping the headgear. The sun, moon, and the lotus bud are so harmoniously blended, that their distinctness escapes the attention of the onlooker. There are also two broad flowers one on either side of the headgear giving the impression of a crown. This is no doubt a unique representation as has been pointed out by P. Pal.

In general, mukha-lingas appear smaller than the linga shaft and emanate from the shaft but in this image the figure of Śiva is taller than linga indicating the importance of the *rūpa* (form) of the image is greater than the linga. It is known that the linga form is called *rūpa-arūpa* as it is devoid of any limbs or figure while the image of Śiva in any human form is called *rūpa*. Though such mukha-lingas combine both these aspects, the emphasis is laid on the linga form that seems to indicate the nature of worship for which the image was made. **(F.19)** This must be taken as an

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additional factor in identifying the image. For example in the Lingodbhava form, in which Śiva emanates from the middle of the linga, the linga is not a phallus but is an immeasureable shaft of fire that appeared before Brahmā and Viṣhṇu when they were quarrelling among themselves about their superiority. To call the linga in the Lingodbhava form as a phallus would be unscientific. There is no suggestion of phallus in this image.

As the face of the image is not ferocious, he cannot be identified with Aghōramūrti nor is he Vāmadēva as no suggestion of feminine nature is depicted. In all probability, the image represents Tatpuruṣha form of Śiva as he holds *matulinga* fruit and *akshamālā*.

The *Viṣhṇu dharmottara purāṇa* a gives the following names as synonyms of the five manifestations of Śiva.

Tatpuruṣha / Mahādēva
Aghōra / Bhairava
Sadyōjāta / Nandi vaktra
Vāmadēva / Umā vaktra
Iśāna / Sadāśiva.

The *Kāmikāgama* prescribes rosary of beads in the right hand and *bīja-pūra*, in the left hand for Tat-puruṣha. Sadyōjatā should have *abhaya* and *varada* gestures in his hands. (chapter 37 v. 175-180).

Tasya pūrvamukham subhru sukapōlam smitādharam
Jāmbūnada pratīkāsam kalpayet tu bhuja dvayam *175*
dakṣha haste akṣhasūtram tu vāme vai bīja pūrakam 176-1
..... *pasciman rajata prabham* (179-2)

bāla vesha samāyuktam pundarīka nibhēkṣhaṇam
varābhaya karōpētam dhyānasaktam ivas sthitam - (180)

We may identify this sculpture more specifically as Tat-puruṣha Mahādēva.

We have seen that more importance is given to the image rather than the linga in the bronze under discussion. That shows that it represents Tat-puruṣha Mahādēva form. Worship of Tat-puruṣha according to *Gāruḍa tantra* would bestow siddhis

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obtained through the mantras, and other methods. As this is a Kashmiri bronze ascribed to 8th - 9th cent, the text *Svacchanda Tantra* would be the most appropriate, to give the clue to an understanding of this image, as it was used widely in Kashmir.

The *Svacchanda Tantra* gives the *dhyāna śloka* of Tat-puruṣha which it calls Nārēśa, Tat-puruṣha represents earth and its worship bestows fruits of several thousand Aśvamēdha sacrifices. The worshippers of Nārēśa are brought under the school known as Dakṣhiṇa Śaivam by *Sarva Siddhānta vivēka*. On the basis of this text we may identify this bronze as Tat-puruṣha Nārēśa, worshipped by Gāruḍa school of Śaivam which is a branch of Bhairava School. This Bhairava School dominated Kashmir before the *Pratyabhijñā* School emerged in the 8th cent. Kṣhēmarājā, a leading disciple of Abhinava gupta who wrote a commentary on *Svacchanda Bhairava* School, points to the importance of this school. By identifying the bronze as Tat-puruṣha Mahādēva of the Gāruḍa Bhairavam in the Śaiva branch the purpose of making the image is well understood. (Also see the write up in the sequence on Nārēśvar a place of historic interest in Madhya Pradesh, **(Pages 140 - 145)**

The *dhyāna sloka* of Tat-puruṣha as given by Svacchanda Bhairava is as follows

Kumkumābham ca Nārēśam trinētram tu Jaṭādharam
Purvānanam abhidhyāyēt Vāyubhakshasya tadphalam
Tat punya phalam apnoti Asvamēdha ayutasya ca
Jagacca vasam āpnoti Kramato Siddhimētica
Shadbhir māsaih asandēh (Ch.10, v. 125-127)

Commenting on this term Nārēśa, Kṣhēmarājā says it refers to Tatpuruṣha, Bhairava.

Narānan īśvarasya anugrahādi kartuh Tat-puruṣha bhaṭṭārakasya idam Nārēśam (vol. II. P.111)

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Śiva Pārvatī (P. 49)

The superb bronze image of Śiva Pārvatī under worship in Gaurī shankar temple of Chmpa, illustrated by many scholars, also deserves attention in this context. Assignable to 10th cent it has attracted the attention of the world by its enchanting form. The description of the image as given by Pal (fig. 85) in "Bronzes of Kashmir" is as follows.

"In this spectacular group of bronzes Śiva and Pārvatī are shown standing close together in graceful postures. Śiva has four heads, two of which are ferocious the head facing Pārvatī is that of a female and no doubt represents the Umā-vaktra as mentioned in the text. With three of his hands, Śiva holds the rosary, the trident, and the *bīja-pūraka*, which symbolizes the seed of the universe, and emphasizes his creative aspect. The elbow of his bent upper left hand rests on the right shoulder of Pārvatī in a gesture of affection. His sacred thread is a snake, and like Viṣhṇu he wears a floral garland" - (p.218).

As he wears a snake as *upavīta* he should be brought under Gāruḍa Bhairava School. Pal notes that the left face of Śiva that faces Pārvatī is that of a female obviously that of Vāmadeva. He mentions that two other faces are ferocious but does not mention which are those other two faces. The front face is calm and benign. So the face on the right is obviously ferocious representing that of Aghōra Bhairava. Certainly the back face cannot be a ferocious one. The right is ferocious and the left is that of a female while the front is benign. There could be no doubt that the front face is that of Tat-puruṣha Nārēśa. There is no fifth face on top. The ferocious face that of Aghōra is on the right and Vāmadēva with feminine face is on the left. This image should be identified more accurately as Tat-puruṣha Mahādēva as the front face is that of Tatpuruṣha.

Such identification becomes necessary to distinguish one manifestation from the other as in the case of images with either Aghōra face or the Sadyōjāta face in front, each made for different purpose. This publication of *Sarva-Siddhānta vivēka*, and *Jñāna siddhi* enable us to grasp these differences more closely. Writing on the hill bronzes from the Champa area in "Indian Bronze Masterpieces" published by the Festival of India, New Delhi, 1988, P.110, Vishva Chander Ohri states that "this group is most popular of all the deities in worship in various temples in Champa town, particularly with the women". Women are mostly devout and pray for cure of their

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children, their husbands and other family members from diseases. The worship of this deity is not unlikely to have followed the *Gāruḍa tantra*, according to which the effects of all round siddhis are bestowed by this manifestation of Śiva.

Face of Śiva's Mask (F.78)

A number of beautiful faces of Śiva or of Devi as masks have been published by many scholars. Such plaques are also found now in many museum collections. (Ohri F.13 P.114 said to be in a private collection at Bombay; Pal F.86. said to come from Kulu valley, 12th cent; and cat no 108, Museum fur Indische kunst Berlin, Catalog 1986, Augustellte). The Berlin one does represent two breasts emphasizing that it represents the Dēvi aspect.

Pal rightly remarks that such figures are "often referred to as masks which is totally incorrect. They are used exactly as regular images are". The one from Champa illustrated by Ohri, has *Jaṭa* clearly falling on the shoulders, and rosary of beads in the hands held in *vyākhyāna* pose and is that of a male god. The third eye is clearly visible on the forehead.

Judging from the fact that this region was greatly influenced by the *Bhairava tantra*, it is likely that these images were originally worshipped by the followers of Bhairava school. It is seen that there were four sub schools among the Bhairavas namely *Gāruḍa, Dakṣhiṇa, Vāma* and *Bhūta tantras*. They were worshipped for achievement of siddhis. The *Vāma tantra* was used for worshipping Vāmadēva face for attracting people. Some of the feminine faces might represent Vāmadēva which could be mistaken as Dēvi or Śiva. Representing Vāmadēva form in Trimukha lingas is known from Central India, where, two breasts are shown prominently in addition to a mirror in hand and feminine coiffure.

Pañca-mukha-linga (F. 57 – 58)

Included in the catalogue of Kashmir Bronzes by Pal, is a Pañca-mukha-linga, 87 a and b. Pal points out that this type of Śiva linga was quite popular in this part of the Himalayas, and gives the following description "Pañca-mukha-linga is a phallic emblem of Śiva with five faces or busts as we see in this bronze. Such linga with faces are rare and the type seems to have been prevalent in north western Himalayas. Normally only four of Śiva's five faces are represented, the fifth being considered invisible. Four of the faces of this bronze have a placid expression while the fifth has a

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fierce appearance. The hands in each instance holds a rosary and a pot in a manner typical of Kashmiri bronzes. The hair on each of the four side heads is similarly delineated with a chignon and plated strands falling down the shoulders. Circular rings adorn the ears of each figure except those of the ferocious face. The ear ornaments are formed with serpents. Serpents also decorate the bust on top, and in addition, he is given the crescent moon as a crowning element. The five forms of Śiva are traditionally known as Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tat-puruṣha and Īśāna. They are also said represent the five elements (*Pañca-bhūtas*) such as earth, water, fire, wind and ether. Appropriately, the awesome face represents fire and hence, emphasizes the identification of Śiva with Agni, the god of fire." (p.222 of Bronzes of Kashmiri).

The bronze is said to be in Samuel Eilenberg collection at New York. It seems from the illustration and description, the fig (a) of the Pañca-mukha-linga, ferocious face is facing the front. It also seems to have clearly a moustache. The bust on top, also facing the front has a benign simile and the crescent moon on his head. The face at the back is quite calm and has what looks like a Nāmạ - (*ūrdhva-pundra*) vertical facial mark. We are led to conclude that this mark usually seen on Viṣhṇu identical with Vāmadēva. The front face which is ferocious thus surely is that of Aghōra. The Aghōra face should face south and Vāmadeva the north. This iconographic feature is of utmost importance to the identify the cult that made the image. In the light of the present study of relevant text, I am certain that this image represents what is known as Sadāśiva-Bhairava a unique image. The five-faced linga is generally called Sadāśiva, in which the top image will be Īśāna. However the text, *Svacchanda Bhairava* states that in the Pañca-mukha-linga's of the Bhairava School, the top bust would represent Sadāśiva Bhairava.

We find the Aghōra facing front, indicating that it represents the main deity in the Pañca-mukha-linga under discussion. It is well known that Aghōra is also called Aghōra Bhairava and there is no doubt, that Bhairava followers worshiped this linga. It is further confirmed by the top image also facing the same direction as the Aghōra face below. The top figure also has serpents as earrings. It is the Sadāśiva of the Bhairava school, called Sadāśiva Bhairava. Theologically, Bhairava Bhaṭṭāra is superior to all manifestation of Śiva including Sadāśiva. Bhairava is said to occupy a space above Sadāśiva and hence called Sadāśiva Bhairava Thus the bronze may represent Svacchanda Bhairava of the Bhairava school.

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Catur-mūkha-linga

A stone image of catur-mūkha-linga with four faces is illustrated by P. Pal (cat no. 9) in his book "A Collecting Odyssey" published by the Art Institute of Chicago, 1997. The figure consists of a shaft of stone that is square at the bottom, octagonal in the middle, and cylindrical with four faces on top. The lower square part representing Brahmā goes inside a socket on the ground, while the middle octagonal part should have been encased by the pedestal representing the aspect of goddess Manonmani (Pārvatī). The pedestal with the water spout could have been either square or circular. The top portion with four faces is interesting. The four faces represented are Tat-puruṣha Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, and Vāmadēva. The top cylindrical part without the face represents Īśāna, who represents the ether (ākāśa) as the embodiment of knowledge. The illustration seems to show the bust of Sadyōjāta in the front as the fierce face of Aghōra is found to the left while the benign and feminine face is to the right of the central face. The fierce Aghōra face has to be to its right *(dakṣhiṇa)* and the Vāmadēva face to the left with reference to Tat-puruṣha. If one looks at the figure from the other side of this illustrated image, the faces would be duly on the right and left. It is possible that the illustration has been shown with the Sadyōjāta face in front unintentionally. If this was its original position (there are illustrations of Trimukha lingas with Sadyōjāta face in the front) then the linga should have been in a sanctum facing the west. Depending upon orientation the nature of worship would vary according to either *Gāruḍa tantra, Vāma tantra, Bhūta tantra or Dakṣhiṇa tantra*. If the Sadyōjāta face was facing the main entrance, the image would have been worshipped according to *Bhūta tantra* to ward of affliction from Bhuta, Preta or Pisacas (mental afflictions believed to have been caused by demons, manes, or imps). There are temples where the sanctum has openings on all the four cardinal directions.

Bhairava- mukha - linga (F. 77)

P. Pal illustrates a plaque from Himachal pradesh in "A Collecting Odyssey" (cat no 11). It represents the head of Śiva with the crescent moon on its head. The plaque is assigned to 8th, 9th cent. The image is undoubtedly Śiva, as has been suggested by Pal and as seen from the crescent moon and the third eye. It is possible to identify this image more closely as Pal has not suggested any specification. The clue to its identification comes from its mouth that Pal describes as thick lipped. I feel the mouth is deliberately treated that way to suggest that the God is howling with his

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mouth. In this aspect, he is Rudra. Rudra is so called because he gives a howling noise and Rudra is identified with Bhairava in Svacchanda. Thus, the present study shows that Rudra is Aghōra Bhairava, with whom this image may be identified. Kashmir and Himachal region, were following the Bhairava school of Śaivism extensively, with *Svacchanda tantra* as the main text. We may identify this plaque with that of Aghōra Bhairava - A Kāla Bhairava face made of silver is placed on a pedestal in front of the Kāla bhairava stone image in the sanctum, and receives regular worship at Ujjaini Kāla Bhairava temple even today **(see page 98)**

Brahmā - Viṣhṇu – Mahēśa (F. 79)

An important bronze from Kashmir, representing the Trinity of Hindu pantheon – Brahmā, Viṣhṇu and Śiva assignable to 9th cent is illustrated by Pal in his "Bronzes of Kashmir", (cat.No.2). Pal calls this right "Brahminical Triad" (p.52). All the three Gods are placed on a common pedestal, over which they are shown seated on lotus seats separately, with Śiva in the centre, Brahmā to his right and Viṣhṇu to the left. All the three are shown with their consorts seated on their laps. All the three gods are endowed with four hands each and wielding their respective emblems. That Śiva is shown in the centre shows that the group has Śiva as the central character.

Pal has provided us with an accurate description. The four armed Brahmā is seated in yoga pose over three visible swans. It is not known whether the fourth is present at the back. In all probability, it has one. Hamsas represent Veda and Brahmā is the God of Vēdas. The four swans represent four Vēdas, on which the god manifests. Though the Vēdas are four in number they are also sometimes mentioned as three Vēdas, *Trayī* namely, Rk, Yajur, and Sāmaveda, excluding the Atharvaveda. As the number of swans on the pedestal of Brahmā is not exactly known, it is not possible to be precise, however whether there are three or four they represent the Vēdas on which the God is seated. His hands portray *akshamālā* (rosary of beads) and *daṇḍa vyākhyāna mudra* and *kamaṇḍalu*. He is endowed with three heads (probably the fourth is at the back). His consort Mahāsarasvatī is seated on his lap looking up to him.

Śiva is seated on the back of a bull. The four legs of the bull are said to represent the four Vēdas, and the bull itself represents Vedic dharma. Śiva's right hand is bent and rested on the bull, while the left hangs down. Mahādēvi his consort is seated on the left lap of her lord. With the upper pair of hands, Śiva holds a trident and snake while the front lower hands hold a rosary of beads and also show the *vyākhyāna*

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mudrā (gesture of exposition) and the left holds the *bījapūra* Śiva's third eye is prominently shown on the forehead. Over his *jaṭābhāra* Śiva is shown wearing a crown.

To the left of Śiva is Viṣhṇu seated on Gāruḍa who is shown with wings and hands held in anjali. Viṣhṇu holds in his four hands a lotus, mace, conch and cakra. He wears a crown and on his lap is seated Mahālakshmi. The group is assigned to 9th, 10th cent. Pal observes rightly that this is an exceptionally interesting form and calls it Brahminical Triad.

With Kashmir as its provenance, and assigned to 9th cent it would be interesting to see whether the *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra* that was popular in Kashmir has any iconographic postulation that would help in its identification.

In the first chapter of this text, dealing with the invocation of Bhairava and Bhairavi, we have the invocation of Brahmā Viṣhṇu Mahēśa in the middle of orbits of Sōma (moon), Sūrya (sun) and Agni (fire). The common seat on which the three are seated is called *Praṇava-Omkāra*.

Trayōdaśam bindu yutam Anantāsanam uttamam,
Anēna yojayēt sarvam sōma sūryāgni madhyagam
Brahmā Viṣhṇu Mahēśānam Savāntam parikalpayēt. Ch. 1, 38, 39a.

The commentary of Kṣhēmarājā says that the seat *anantāsana* should be one for all the three.

Āsanamantrēna sarvam ādhāravarti yōjayēt ādhāra saktitayā anusamdadhyāt evam sōma sūrya agni madhyagam Brahmā Viṣhṇu Mahēśānam kritvā. Vol I, p 15

The seat is one supporting all the three and the three appear in midst of the orbits of moon, sun and Agni. The aureole behind Brahmā represents Candra maṇḍala, the one behind Śiva represents Śūrya maṇḍala, the one behind Viṣhṇu Agni maṇḍala. The bronze group represents a common seat and the three maṇḍalams. Over these deities Brahmā, Viṣhṇu, Mahēsa, is to be invoked Bhairava Bhaṭṭāraka. As this is a Bhairava school of worship, Kṣhēmarājā calls the supreme Lordship as Parama - Bhairava bhaṭṭāraka. Over the three deities, combined as causal group (*samagra kāraṇa-grāma*) Svacchanda Bhairava appears as the supreme Bhairava.

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Explaining this further the *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra* says, Brahmā, Viṣhṇu and Hara are the deities of the Sōma-Sūrya-Agni maṇḍālas; *Viṣhṇu haras caiva Brahmā maṇḍalēshu adhipā smritāh.*

Then the *Svacchanda tantra* gives a detailed description of Brahmā, as being with four heads, red in colour, four handed, wearing deer's skin and upper garment and seated on a lotus, he must hold *kamaṇḍalu, daṇḍa*, akṣhamālā and *padma.*

Viṣhṇu should have the colour of *atasi* flower, wield conch and cakra, wear yellow silken garment, and *Vanamālā,* must wear a crown, bright ear ornaments and a be seated on Garuḍa.

"Śiva white in colour, holding a trident, ten armed, should have Jaṭas and third eye. His *upavīta* should be the snake. He must cover himself with a lion's skin. He must be seated on a Bull. He is Rudra". After this the text gives the description of Bhairava.

Before worshipping Bhairava the *Svacchanda tantra* prescribes worship of Brahmā, Viṣhṇu and Mahēśvara as incumbent on the follower of this Bhairava school.

The description comes closer to the bronze under discussion as may be seen from the verses. The bronze is obviously an icon of the Bhairava school, representing Brahmā, Viṣhṇu and Mahēśāna, worshipped before the final worship of Svacchanda Bhairava.

In the worship of Svacchanda Bhairava, there are various spheres (*bhuvanas*) and various categories (*tattvas*); each of these *bhuvanas* have different manifestations of the supreme. For example Dēvi, Nandi, Mahākāla, Ganēśa, Vrishabha, Bhringi, Caṇḍēśvara and Kārtikēya are described. In the Saumya school of Śaivam also this group appears as āvaraṇa deities of the 3rd circle.

Devi Nandi Mahākālau Ganēśa, Vrshabhastthā
Bhringī candīśvaras caiva Kārtikēyo ashtamas smritah 10th Patalam, 1102

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Harihara (F. 61, 82, 83)

Similarly the *Svacchand*a text enumerates the eight Vidyēśvaras. In thus order, Harihara should be worshipped in *rāga tattva* (one among the five tattvas like, *kāla, kalā, rāga, Niyati* etc.)

Ata ūrdhvam hariharau rāga tattvē nibōdha mē 10th patala – v. 1112

Kshēmarājā the commentator says that Harihara occupies a very important position in the rāga category.

"atah pumranjaki rāga tattvē Hariharau mukhyau bhuvanēsau" S.B. Vol. IV, P. 204

In the worship of cosmic categories under Bhairava worship, a specific place is thus assigned to Harihara form. There is an important image of Harihara coming from Kashmir, in the collection of Berlin Museum. (Accn no MIK 3835, cat no.74, cat no. 41) of "Treasures of Indian Art: Germany's tribute to India's Cultural Heritage".

It is a rare representation of Harihara combining the ferocious aspects of Aghōra Bhairava and Varāha, among the four faces. On to the right of standing Śiva is portrayed the personified form of Trident on whose head the main deity rests one right hand. The left hand probably is on a similar attendent of omkāra. In between the legs of the main image is portrayed the goddess of earth; on the right shoulder of the image falls a snake.

Of the three heads the front one is calm while both the side heads show ferocious forms with Aghōra Bhairava on the right and Varāha with a furious face on the left. M. Yaldiz describing (no. 41) the image says that the back face (the fourth one) is also divided into two to emphasize the Harihara form.

I have shown that it is a form of Bhairava manifestation mentioned in the *Īśāna-śiva- gurudeva* Paddhati. As mentioned Harihara occupies an important place in the ascending order as a Bhuvanādhipa among the cosmic entities enumerated in the worship of Śvacchanda Bhairava. As this image comes from Kashmir where the *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra* had pronounced influence, we may not be wrong in identifying this Harihara as a manifestation of Bhairava.

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Śiva -Sadyōjāta from Gyaraspur, Vidisa (F. 20, 21, 22)

An image of Śiva Sadyōjāta, extraordinary by its magnitude, beauty and Iconography that has not attracted the attention of art historians so far, is discussed here. It may be necessary to make a cautious note about the name before we proceed further. We use the Name Śiva-Sadyōjāta here to emphasize its unique character, though this combined name is not found in any text to denote the present portrayal. The five forms of Śiva called the Pañca-Brahmams are represented horizontally beginning with Tat-puruṣha facing east. All the five are generally called from Sadāśiva-mūrti in ritual texts. However, according to *Viṣhṇu Dharmottara Purāna* the Īśāna head is also called Sadāśiva. In the worship of Śiva linga there are five deities in the vertical axis that are invoked in order as Brahmā, Viṣhṇu, Rudra, Mahēsa, and Sadāśiva. Here we find that the sphere above Rudra is called Mahēsa and the fifth one called Sadāśiva. We will revert to this in the sequence. However, the famous portrayal of the Elephanta cave called variously as Trimūrti, Mahēśa-mūrti or Sadāśiva comes closer to the sculpture under study.

Śiva – Sadyōjāta

The exceptionally beautiful sculpture from Gyaraspur under discussion, a three faced deity, and fairly well preserved, is now in the Government State Museum, Bhopal, Madhya pradesh. The label in the museum reads "Sadāśiva, from Gyaraspur Dist, Vidisa, c.10th cent. AD". The sculpture with three heads has three pairs of arms of which three are broken. The figure appears above the waist and has charming faces. The central face is serene and in meditative pose, crowned by a lovely well treated *Jaṭāmakuṭa* Almost at the top of it in the front is the crescent of the moon (*Candra-kalā)* tucked in the *jatā*. A dimond shaped crest jewel fastens the central part of the *Jaṭāmakuṭa* while a well-portrayed *dhātura* flower above it resembles almost a cup. The face band –*mukha-paṭṭa*, consists of a row of probably *rudrāksha* beads (Perhaps they might be even row of skulls but due to wear the portrayal is not clear). The neck is well ornamented; a close fitting *rudrākshamālā* is found on the neck while similar *rudrākshamālās* or four garlands of beads are seen on the chest, the bottom one being more ornate. Three strands of *jaṭās* are falling on each shoulder almost like ornaments. Both the arms wear armlets (*keyūras)*. Encircling the waist is the five-hooded cobra. Its hood is well spread in front in the middle.

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Aghōra Bhairava (F. 22) The face on to its left is evidently that of Agōra-mūrti also identified with Bhairava in texts. The head is fastened with a snake. The figure is adorned with *jaṭāmakuṭa* above the face band with a garland of skulls, *kapāla-mālā*. Curly hairs are dressed as face band. The face strikes terror with ball like protruding eyes, while the nose is sharp and curved. The centre of the face shows the third eye while beneath it is seen flames of fire between the two eyes. The gasping mouth throws its tongue out that licks the middle of a scull cup (*kapāla*), held in the left hand. The right ear of the image sports a ring made of skull bone that seems to be an unusual ornament though it fits in with the Bhairava form. The left hand that holds the skull cup is wearing a snake as bangle. The eye sockets, face, the neck and the hand holding the skull cup emphasize the skeleton like form of Bhairava. This is an unusual feature of portraying the Agōra form. Beneath the left hand is seen a snake on the ground with coiled body and spread out hoods.

Umā / Vāmadēva: (F. 21) The charming face to the right of the central figure is that of a beautiful woman obviously that of Vāmadēva. The feminine beauty is perceptibly brought out by the artist that it contrasts so well with the Bhairava form on the left and the serene countenance in the middle. The head of Umā is adorned with well-worked *kēsa-bandha* with a prominent *sikhāmaṇi*, head jewel, circular in form, and studded with precious gems. The hairs on the forehead are carefully combed and divided into the proverbial five parts and adorned with a row of curly hairs forming a garland of face band. With a plumpy face and sharp chin, bow like eye-brows and the long eyes the feminine charm is immediately appealing. The neck is adorned with three garlands of small beads tightly covering the whole neck. The three rows seem to be fastened into one chain in the front by fasteners. A ring of chain is seen as ear ornament. Umā is holding a mirror with a handle in her right hand. Her right arm is bedecked prominently with eight rows of bangles. Above all what is unique in this sculpture is that the Umā is shown prominently with both her rounded breasts not noticed in any such sculptures so far.

Scholars like Gopinatha Rao, J.N.Banerjee, Śivaramamurti, Stella Kramrisch, and B.N.Shrma, who have worked on Sadāśiva form have not noticed this extraordinary figure. I could not get further details like when this image was acquired and whether this has been noticed or not etc. At any rate its beauty, magnitude and iconographic importance have not received the attention that it deseres. Undoubtedly, it is one the greatest piece of Indian art. The sculpture is found carved in red buff stone

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as found in Khajuraho and nearby regions of Madhya pradesh. That it comes from a village Gyaraspur near Vidisa, the ancient centre of Indin artistic tradition, deserves to be noted

Mahēsa-mūrti (F. 54 – 56)

Mention has been made ealier that the Elephanta Mahēśa-mūrti / Sadāśivamūrti is the most outstanding figure of this form with three faces. T.A Gopinatha Rao argued that this can not be called Trimūrti but called it Mahēśa-mūrti by giving a number of reasons. He pointed out that Trimūrti represents Brahmā, Viṣhṇu, and Śiva in images like Ekapāda-mūrti. Nevertheless, here it conforms to the Pañca-Brahman form of Śiva namely Tat-purusha, Aghōra, Vāmdēva and Sadyōjātā. He also pointed out that the number of hands is generally based on number of faces and that the Sadāśiva form with five faces will have ten arms. As Elephanta cave image has only six arms he concluded it should be considered having three faces only. That prompted him to identify the Elephanta image with Mahēśa-mūrti. "The most important position occupied by this sculpture in the cave temple with reference to other manifestations of Śiva such as those of Ardhanārisvara, Kalyāṇa-sundara, Rāvanānugraha, Gangādhara, and other mūrtis, found surrounding him, bear incontrovertible evidence to the conclusion that the sculpture represents only the Mahēśa or the most important aspect of Śiva. Regarding the face on the right of the Elephanta image, Rao said "this face certainly represents Aghōra-mūrti. The central face is calm and dignified. This is the face representing Sadyōjāta. The face on the left side is also a calm and pacific one, There are only six arms represented in the sculpture, which is as many pairs as there are faces visible." Rao failed to recognize the left face of Elephanta as a feminine face.

J.N. Banerjee pointed out in his *"Development of Hindu Iconography"* (p.476) that none of the scholars appears to have understood the real nature of the face on the left which is undoubtedly feminine in character" and called it Umā.

Stella Kramrisch suggested that the Elephanta image is a sort of Pañcamukha linga and identified the image with Sadāśivamūrti. Pointing out the four faces of Śiva in Sadāśiva, Kramrisch showed that "the four faces of Śiva are those of Tat-puruṣha / Mahādēva, Aghōra / Bhairava, Vāmadēva / Umā, and Sadyōjāta / Nandin." Basing her conclusion on *Viṣhṇu dharmōttaṛa purāṇa*, Kramrisch identified the left face of Elephanta now with Umā. (Stella Kramrisch, *The Presense of Śiva*, Princeton University Press.1981, p.446) "Although it has only three faces the Sadāśiva image in

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Elephanta is a kind of Pañcamukha linga, emerging from the dark debth of the rock, The fourth face at the back of the frontal Tat-puruṣha /Mahādeva can not be seen." (Ibid). Identifying the front face of Elephanta Kramrisch says "The Tat-puruṣha / Mahādēva's face contains fullness of absolute knowledge that is peace. (P.447) Kramrisch uses the term Mahādēva frequently to denote Tat-puruṣha form. "On the right of Mahādēva's face wrigging serpent locks and raised serpent hoods, interspersed with manifold flowers, and tender leaves lead to a staring skull; the crown jewel of coiffure, pile high above Aghōra Bhairava's face. On the left of Mahādēva's crown by contrast, rows of small corkscrew curls, surmounted by swags and swirling curves frame and crown Vāmadēva/Umā's countenance (447). Vāmadēva the mantra and beauteous deity on Mahādēva's left is indeed the great Goddess Umā." (448).

Thus we find there are sculptures that portray only three heads the central one and the side ones representing Aghōra/ Bhairava and Vāmdēva / Umā who is feminine. As the Gyaraspur image now in Bhopal clearly portrays the female face and her bust with two breasts and the other face with skeletal figure but with terrible look with the skull cup as Aghōra/Bhairava, the Elephanta sculpture should be considered as Tri-mukha and not as Sadāśiva. As the Gyaraspur figure has only three faces and three pairs of arm, we have chosen not to call it Sadāśiva but Śiva- Sadyōjāta

Padavali Trimukhas (F. 51 – 54)

There are two images of Tri-mukhas coming from Padavali in Mdhya pradesh. One has been removed to Bhopal in recent times. J.N.Banerjee published one image from Padavali from Gwalior in 1956. "A sculpture from Padavali now in Bhopal Museum **(F. 51, 54)** also represents a three faced bust. The placid central face and the terrible right face being masculine in character, the face on left is feminine (the order of the arrangement in this relief is thus a little different from that of the Elephanta sculpture)." "Some atleast of these three faced sculptures of the early mediaeval times really represent a composite form of Śiva where his two separate Saumya and Aghōra forms are combined with his Sakti Umā." (P.477 Jitendra Nath Banerjee *The development of Hindu Iconography,* Reprinted by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 2002 Pl xxxix.3) It may be seen that the face on the left is that of Aghōra in this figure and the face on the right is that of Umā as in the case of Gyaraspur. The Aghōra face is clearly seen with his terrific countenance and his tongue thrown out and licking the

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skull cup while the right face that of Umā has the femnine face and holding a mirror in hand.

The other one was illustrated as Sadāśiva image **(F. 53)** by B.N.Sharma in his book "*Iconography of Sadāśiva*". Ascribed to Pratihāra, 10th cent it comes closer to the Gyaraspur image both in representation and in region. (Pl.VIII) The sculpture is now housed in the Gwalior Museum (It is also a three faced sculpture with calm face in the front, a feminine face to its right holding a mirror and the Aghōra figure on its left holding a skull cup in its left hand. Interestingly though both the Padavali images have three faces they have only four arms holding *akṣha-mālā* and *kalasa* in the front arms and a mirror on the rear right arm on the side of Umā and a skull cup on the Aghōra side. In front of them is shown an *amrita-kalasa* that suggests that the front image is that of Siva Sadyōjāta. Attendants carrying garlands flank both the sculptures. Flanking the image are seen two couples flying above in the air carrying garlands. Both the Padavali sculptures cannot compete with the Gyaraspur figure in aesthetic appeal.

Sadyōjāta Trimukha from Pathari

A group of temples are noticed in Pathari village in Dist Vidisa. Of this one particular temple is of very great importance to our study. The temple called Kūṭakēśvara is a west facing temple, consisting of a *garbha graha*, preceded by an *antarāla* and *mukha mandapa*. The main bhadras niches, carry in order the images of dancing Gaṇēśa in the south, Sūrya in the east and Kārtikēya in the north.

The image of eight armed Gaṇēśa is shown dancing, but is somewhat damaged. The head of Sūrya facing east has been chopped off by vandals so is the body below the waist. The image of Kārtikeya is standing by the side of his peocock flanked by attendants. The śikhara over the *garbhagraha* is the *Pañca-ratha* type but the top portion has been damaged. The front face of the śikhara houses a four-armed deity seated in *lalitāsana* on a couch. Two Dvārapāla like images are found one on either side of the entrance to the Mukha-mandapa. The one on the right of the entrance is a fierce looking Bhairava with four arms, holding *khaṭvānga* and a bell in the left arms and *kapāla,* and *damaru* in the right arms. The other image on the left holds a snake on one of its arms. A female attendant is seen accompanying the image.

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The entrance to the sanctum has five-framed *śākhā* ornamentation. At the bottom level are on either side, the river goddesses Gangā and Yamunā accompanied by their attendants and parasol holders *Chatra dhārinis.* Over them are seen a pair of rishis throwing oblations into fire. The five framed sākhā ornamentation of the entrance have a leaf motif first *(patra-śākhā),* followed by a frame of dwarves (*Pramatha śākhā*) and the third a frame of couples *(mithuna śākhā)* and finally creeper and leaf designs *(Rata)*. Above the entrance in the centre of lintel *(lalāṭa bimba)* is an eight armed dancing image of Śiva Naṭēśa. His right and left front arms are in *gaja-hasta* and *abhaya hasta* poses respectively, while the rest of the hands are damaged. The Naṭēśa is flanked by Vidyādhara couples carrying garlands. Beneath the dancing god are seen the nine planets *(nava-graha)* in a row on the lintel. Above Naṭēśa is Śiva as Andhakāsura samhāra - Bhairava with the Gajāsura carried in the hands. Flanking him are dancing Gaṇēśa and five Mātrikas out of the seven. The Bhairava in the centre is in aṇ animated pose piercing forcefully the Asura with his trident; to his left is noticed Cāmuṇḍa dancing. Correspondingly on the right of Bhairava is dancing Gaṇēśa. The other Mātrikās are Māhēśvari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣhṇavi and Vārāhi.The Bhairava seems to hold a *khatvānga* in one of the arms. The other two Mātrikās were probably accommodated on either side. A point of interest is that all these deities are carrying *khatvānga* in their arms emphasizing the Bhairava nature of the temple.

But the most important information is furnished by the *garbha graha* sanctum. In the centre of the sanctum is a linga with its Vedi. Behind the linga and enshrined on the back wall, is found a Tri-mukha image of Siva, six armed, resembling the Gyaraspur and Padavali images. The image is shown above the waist, with a central face calm and serene and with a short *jaṭāmakuṭa.* To his right is the feminine Vāmadeva face and to the left is the ferocious face of Aghōra Bhairava. The god holds a flower, a mirror, and *akṣhamālā* in the three right arms on the Vāmadēva side. A snake, *kapāla*, and probably a *kamaṇḍalu* are on the three left arms on the Aghora side. The left arms are adorned with *rudrākṣhas* while the right, wear golden bangles. At the back of the head are three concentric halos representing the three maṇḍalas viz *Candra, Sūrya and Agni maṇḍalas* which is interesting.

The front face is topped by a short *jaṭāmakuṭa*, fastened by a cross band of chain.The Aghora face on the laft has the ferocious look, rounded ball like eyes, *(raudra drishṭi)* and its mouth open. A garland of skull adorns his head.The tongue is

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not thrown out as in the other Tri-mukhas of Gyaraspur, and Padavali but the skull cup is held close to its mouth.

R.D.Trivedi in his Survey of "Paramara temples of Madhya Pradesh", gives the following description of this Tri-mukha from Pathari. "Against the back wall is a six-armed relieved image of Śiva Mahādēva. According to *Viṣhṇu-dharmottara-purāna* the iconographic form is supposed to have five faces, four facing four cardinal directions and the fifth the sky. Of these three visible forms of the god are shown here with jaṭābhāra, ear ornaments, hāra, armlets and bracelets. In the background is a *prabhā maṇḍala* carved with lotus petals. The three faces represent Tat-puruṣha, Vāmadēva and Aghōra forms of Mahādēva in the centre, right and left sides respectively. The central face representing Tat-puruṣha is absorbed in meditation holding a rosary of beads and a mutilated *matulinga* fruit in the left one. The Vāmadēva form on the right side facing north and bearing feminine appearance represent his benign aspect emanating from Pārvati and holds a mirror in her hand. The face on the left side facing south represents Aghōra aspect with terrific appearance (*raudra rūpa*) and holds a snake and kapāla in his hands" (p.135; pl 137) Evidently Trivedi holds the front face of this image as Tat-puruṣha. However, as has been shown by me earlier with the Gyaraspur and Padavali images, the front emanation facing here facing west is Sadyōjāta and not Tat-puruṣha. This is further confirmed by the image, sanctum and the temple all facing west.

Further, this is the only sculpture nocticed so far that is still in its original position in situ and gives us an irrefutable understanding of its identification. Based on the temple we come to the following conclusions. Such sculptures are with three faces representing Sadyōjāta form. Such images, from Gyaraspur and Padavali and Pathari and also the Tri-mukha at Elephanta cave are neither Catur-mukha nor Pañca mukha manifestations but were intended to be only Tri-mukhas to emphasize Tat-puruṣha or Sadyōjāta aspect. The orientation of the temple, west facing, or east facing do have specific meaning and should not be treateds as general trend. Particularly when clusters of temples are found in one and the same place and their orientation differs, the form of the deity should be held as different. As for example, some temples of Nārēśvar face west and some temples east and yet others face north, all built in the same place. Even when three temples are in one row, two face east and the third face north. Evidently, the priests have oriented these temples depending on the prayers of patrons and the nature of worship in each. It is similar to different *yajña kuṇḍas*

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(sacrificial altars) in the same place built to invoke different deities. These temples are differently orientated to suit prayers. Reversely one can identify the temples and their main deity based on the orientation as well. This is possible by the study of texts like *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka,* and *Jñāna-siddhi.* That gives the inner meaning of ritual basis for temple orientation. Thirdly the temples of Madhya Pradesh show predominantly Bhairava sculptures that points out that there were large group of Bhairava followers active in mediaeval times. They may be identified as the followers of Bhairava branch of Saivism. The texts *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* and *Jñāna-siddhi* demonstrate that there has been a lot of mutual borrowing as well between the Bhairavas, Lākula Pāśupatas and Vāma Śaivites that are reflected in the Madhya Pradesh monuments.

The image of dancing Śiva on the lintel above the entrance to the sanctum should be considered the dance of Sadyōjāta. The "Bhairava nritta" on the lintel of Pathari temple would suggest that the 'Śaiva system followed there was indeed the Bhairava School with its of text *Bhūta tantra*. As most of the āgamas give importance to the Bhiarava Śaivam among the four fold divisions as Śaiva, Vāma, Bhairavam and Kāpālikam the central Indian Temples seem to have been greatly influenced by this School. It is seen that the Vidisa area which was a centre of Sadyōjāta worship, from very early times as evidenced by the two illustrious Palm tree type of representation, followed by the great portrayal of Sakti images and a number of the Tri-mukhas found in the region show the influence of Sadyōjāta cult. Finally, the magnificent temple at Bhojapuri built by Bhoja Parāmara but which unfortuanately remained unfinished, is facing west and it is not unlikely that the inspiration for such a orientation arose from the adoration of **Sadyōjāta (F. 104)** in the region.

Comparison (F. 20, 21, 22, 51 – 56)

The Gyaraspur, Pathari and both Padavali Tri-mukha-mūrtis are from Madhya Pradesh. The Umā face is on to the right of the central face in all the four figures. Umā holds mirror in her arm in the figures. Similarly, the hair of Umā is made into *kēśaa-mukuta* in the figures. The third eye is not shown on Umā's face. However, the Gyaraspur image shows the feminine features of Umā more elegantly by showing both the breasts and the hand wearing a broad band of bangles. The Gyaraspur figure has a female attendant standing by her side. In all the three figures the Aghōra/Bhairava face is shown to the left of the central figure with terrifying look and licking the skull cup. However the Aghōra form is shown as a skeleton in the Gyaraspur figure while it is

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not so in others. In addition, the Gyaraspur figure shows the snakes prominently while the others do not.

The agamic texts mention that the Umā face must be depicted to the left of the central face in all Sadāśiva images, which is natural, and in conformity with the name Vāma / Vāmadēva (left). Nevertheless, in these figures from Madhya Pradesh, the Vāmadēva /Umā face is to the right of central face. Similar is the case with Aghōra/Bhairava face that should appear to the right, appears on the left in the Madhya pradesh images. The only possible explanation for such a variation is that the Madhya-pradesh images were originally enshrined in a west-facing sanctum in which case the central face would represent Sadyōjāta. With Sadyojāta in the centre, the Umā face will take its position to the right of Sadyōjāta while Aghōra face will appear on its left. Vāmadēva /Umā should face normally north while Aghōra/Bhaiarava will face south. Umā to the right and Agora to the left is possible only when the central image faces west and is Sadyojāta and not Tat- puruṣha.

Erroneous identification of Elephanta image (F. 56)

The study also points to a minor error in Stella Kramisch identification of Elephanta cave image. According to Barbara Stoller Miller, Kramrisch has further revised her identification in 1981. According to Barbara Miller, Kramsrisch's revision was made in a lecture she delivered at the Pennylvania University in 1981. Barbara in a foot note to the article published in a collection of Kramrisch articles (published by IGNCA and Motilal Banarsi dass in 1994,) says:- "This essay first appeared in Ancient India no 2, (July 1946) with an introductory note of Sir Mortimer Wheeler by permission. More recent evidences make the cave sculptures datable to mid 6th cent AD. Kramrisch in her paper "the Great cave temple of Śiva" in the symposium at the University of Pennsylvania in May refers to the centre face as Sadyojāta rather than Tat-puruṣha face. And this revision has been made here". This seems to be an error committed by Barabara Miller for Kramrisch's article was published on the same occasion under the same title "The Great Cave temple of Śiva on the island of Elephanta included in her book released on the same occasion under the title "*The presence of Śiva*" (p.443-468). Kramrisch has identified the central face as Tat-puruṣha Mahādēva. (446-7). It is not known whether Kramrisch has published any article subsequently. If so the reference is not available in Barabara's article. The end note on this identification in Barabara's edited version refers to *Īśāna-gurudeva-*

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paddhati 3-12-35 (p 145) as the source for revising Kramrisch siew. But the above reference does not identify an image with *aksha-mālā* and *bīja-pūra* (*mātulinga* fruit) with Sadyōjāta but holds him Tat-puruṣha/Mahādeva. The reference is wrong. In addition, the description given below for Elephanta and ascribed to Stella Kramrisch, is in my opinion, wrong.

"The body of Śiva, the sign (linga) of he who pervades the universe, faces all directions is given a face in every direction; the faces are summed up and represented at the cardinal points and in the fifth direction. Each face conveys a particular aspect of Śiva, and its psyiognomy indicates its nature. Certain signs also of identification are laid down in the textrs; Sadyōjāta holds the matulinga or *bīja pūraka*, a citron, in one hand and a rosary (*akshamālā*) in the other. The *bīja pura* is full of atoms of the seeds of this universe; rosary is a symbol of reintegration of this world. In his crown of matted locks Tat-puruṣha wears the cresent of the moon; it is its sixteenth digit (amā kalā) symbol of perfectedness and the power of lord *(aiswarya)*. Aghōra is fierce, trerrific, like time (kāla) itself; serpent skull belong to him. Vāmadēva is handsome and the women's delight."

"The great sculpture of Mahādēva is an image of the fully manifest supreme Śiva. In the middle is the face of Sadyōjāta, the faces of Aghōra and Vāmadēva are correlated. (p.142) "Explaoring India's sacred past. Selected writings of Stella Kramrisch, Ed by Barbara stoler Miller. First Published in 1983 by the University of Philadelphia. Reprinted by IGNCA and Motilal Banarsidas 1994, p.142)" It would appear that the views attributed Kramrisch are not her views.

The term Mahādēva is used generally to the Linga form of Śiva but in the context of Mukha-lingas or in the representations as at Elephanta, it is used only for the Tat-puruṣha manifestation that faces east. When the central image is Tat-puruṣha facing east the Aghōra face should be to his right and Vāmadēva Umā to the left. When Sadyōjāta face is in the centre, the Aghōra face will appear to his left and Umā to his right. In the case of Elephanta cave Aghōra is to the right of central figure and Umā is to his left and so is not Sadyōjāta. The centre face of Elephanta can only be Tat- puruṣha and not Sadyōjāta. I think this error has crept in and possibly made by Barbara and not by Kramrisch.When Sadyōjāta face appears in the centre as in the case of Madhya-pradesh images under discussion, the images will face west. Kramrisch herself in her work "*The presence of Śiva*" takes this position. (P.146) "The

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four faces of Śiva are Tat-puruṣha Aghōra / Bhairava, Vāmadēva/Umā and Sadyōjāta/Nandi. "The footnotes" on the same page says "Mahādēva refers to the head in the middle of the three heads in Elephanta of the five faced Sadāśiva". As mentioned by me earlier the Elephanta figure cannot be identified as Sadāśiva or five faced linga, nor as Sadyōjāta but was intended to be only a three-faced image (Tri-mukha) of Tat-puruṣha.

Three faced image in Himachal Pradesh (P.50)

I may also point out that three faces appearing for Śiva is a common trait in Himachal-pradesh where the three faced Śiva is not only in central shrines but also found in *kapōta* ornaments and such representations are called in *bhadra-mukhas* The Shimla museum has two *bhadra-mukhas* out of which atleast two of them have three *mukhas*. But in both the cases the central face of Śiva is Tat- puruṣha as the Vāmadēva face is to the left of the central figure and Aghōra face is to the right. I have not been able to study the temples of Himachal-pradesh and am not able to say whether there exits west facing *bhadra-mukhas*.

Emphasis on Mukhas

Importance of Central Face

There is a main difference in laying emphasis on central face on theological and religious considerations. The Sanskrit text *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* gives some interesting details in this regard. It speaks about four schools under *raudra* systems. They are called *Vāmam Dakṣhiṇam Gāruḍam* and *Bhūta-tantram*. Each face should be worshipped for specific results and such worships are prescribed in four diiferent texts that gave rise to the four sub-sects. Worshipping Tat- puruṣha is prescribed *Gāruḍa tantra* by which one attains siddhis. Yantra and, mantra, system are the schools that worshipped Tat- puruṣha form. The worship of Agōra Bhairava form is prescribed in *Dakṣhiṇa* texts meant for conquest over enemies and achievements of ones desires. The third is the worship of Vāmadēva form prescribed in *Vāma* texts, which is meant for siddhies through *rasa* and buddhi schools. The worship of Sadyojāta as the main face is prescribed in *Bhūta tantra* for warding off afflictions by bhūtas, Prētas, and Pisācas. These four fold divisions among Bhairavan are based on the four texts that in turn seem to accept the guidelines of pleasant agamas like *Kāmikam* they are not considered wild and yet considered inner outsiders by the Siddhānta Śaivas. It is clear

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from this text that there existed separate categories of Śaivas who worshipped any one of the five manifestations of Śiva. The worship of Elephanta Tat-puruṣha is by a different sect and the worship of Sadyōjāta Nandi as in the case of Madhya Pradesh images are different. The former is based on *Gāruḍa tantra* while the Madhya-pradesh ones are based *Bhūta tantra*.

The *Iśāna-gurudēva-paddhati* gives some details about the worship of mukha-lingas. If there is only one entrance to the sanctum Eka-mukha-linga or Tri-mukha-linga could be consecrated. In this case the Eka-mukha, or the central face of the Tri-mukha-linga will face the entrance. If the sanctum has four openings, one in each cardinal direction, four faced linga could be established, each face looking towards its appropriate direction, (like Tat-puruṣha facing east, Aghōra facing south, Sadyōjāta facing west and Vāmadēva north). Twin faced linga or five-faced linga could be established by a king on a hill in the country for victory and the elimination of enemies. The twin faced linga should not be consecrated in ordinary Śiva temples as it is an *ābhicārikā* form. (*Uttara bhāga*, 41 chapter 11-13)

So it is evident that the Trimukha lingas were established in sanctums with single opening. The Vidisa, Padavali Tri-mukha lingas, ought to have been in a shrine with a single entrance and the position of Aghōra face, and Vāmadēva face (in reverse order) suggest the entrance should have been on the west. This is proved by Pathari temple (Incidentally we may not be wrong to hold that the five faced Pañca mukha lingas, where ever found, were royal consecrations).

Mahēśa or Tat-puruṣha ?

Charles Dillard Collins in his well studied work, "The Iconography and Ritual of Śiva at Elephanta", has discussed in detail, the occurrence of three faced Śiva in greater part of western India. He also cites a number of other scholars who have worked on the subject. The reader's attention is drawn to to this study for details. It is clear from this study that the representation of three faced Śiva is common in western India. The author suggested that "it is evident the discussion that the majority of prototypes for the Mahēśamurti images of Śiva at Elephanta hail from the north, that is the Gāndhāra-Kashmir, Rajasthan - Gujarat region and the type icon became popular in the Deccan essentially after Elephanta was excavated. The image from Orissa was the only one cited radically outside this axis from the north of Elephanta, with which it is roughly contemporary. It probably represents the infusion of another sub sect of

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Pāśupatas from north India, to this region from the east. Therefore the image of Elephanta seems to have been an importation relating to the spread of the Pāśupata sect in this case as a political patronage of the Kalachuris, quite probably under the reign of Sankaragana in the last quarter of the sixth cent". (p. 120).

Collins has felt that Trimukha images have something to do with Pāśupata sect. I would suggest that Pāśupatas concentrated more on achievement of Yoga though there was some over lap of philosophical borrowing between them and the Bhairavas. However, the Bhairavas of Vāma and Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava schools emphasized achievement of mystic powers, and as revealed by these two texts discussed in this book, it is likely to be one of the sub-sects of the Bhairavas who were responsible for the Elephanta image. Secondly, Collins calls the Elephanta and similar three faced images of Śiva as Mahēśamurti. The term Mhēśamurti is generally employed in Śaiva rituals to the manifestation above Rudra (in the ascending order of Brahmā, Viṣhṇu, Rudra, Mahēśa and Sadāśiva) and below Sadāśiva. It is not connected with Tri-mukha images which are based on the Panca Brahmam concept of Tat-puruṣha , Agōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, and Īśāna. The Tri-mukha images are portrayed to emphasize the central face of the deity, to which worship is offered to achieve some siddhis mystic results. The worship of the particular face or manifestation is performed as per one of the Tantras Gāruḍa, Dakṣhiṇa, Vāma, or Bhūta Tantras of the Bhairava school. The Elephanta image is Tat-puruṣha / Mahādēva who ought to have been worshipped with Gāruḍa Tantra for general siddhis.

Studies on Mukhalingas

Gerd Kreisel illustrates a large number of Mukha-lingas with sigle face, four faces and five faces in the collection of many Museums and provides valuable details. A few points of relevance are mentioned here. Among those discussed, a good number are single faced (Eka-mukha-lingas) in which case it is difficult to identify either Tat-puruṣha, Sadyōjāta, or Vāmadēva faces, or even Agōra faces (except in the Agōra case where the fierce aspect of the deity is portrayed with moustache, beard, ball like eyes and gasping mouths). Most of the single faced Eka-mukha lingas illustrated in the above book have pleasing countenance and therefore may be Tat-puruṣha -Mahādēva. However the illustrations no 32 and 33 may represent Agōra form. The author uses the term Brahmacārins, Ardhanāri, and Agōra sometimes. Thus he calls both Tat-puruṣha and Sadyōjāta as Yogins; Vāmadēva as Brahmacārin (I am not sure whether the term

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Brahma-cārin could be applied to Vāmadēva. For it is only the Sadyōjāta form which is named *Bāla-vesha-dhara* of boyish countenance). For example the Caturmukha linga of the Russak collection "Pl 60 a to h", shows Agōra on one side and on the opposite side Ardhanārisvara. While the Agōra face has a long moustache on both sides of the face and beard, raised eyebrows and has *raudra drishti* the Ardha-nārisvara side shows moustache on one side only the other side of the face being feminine. The author has also carefully demonstrated that the right side of the head dress which is divided into two parts shows the *jaṭā-makuṭa* on the right and the left shows *kēśa bandha.* Among the other two faces the one having curly hair, like that of Buddha, is evidently Tat-puruṣha called Yogin by the author (60c). The other one (60 f), which has a boyish face like almost shaven head and with tuft is that of Sadyōjāta. He could be identified as a brahmācarin for he is the one attributed with boyish countenance. However in the illustrations the order of the faces are shown reversed. Ill 60 a shows Agōra to the left of Tat-puruṣha (60 g), and Vāmadēva/Ardhanari to the right. This is not a correct order. Similarly the Brahmacārin *ushnishin* (Sadyōjāta) appears to the right of Vāmadēva / Ardhanāri (60f). The illustration 60 b shows Agōra and Ardhanārisvara side by side which is not possible (9If). It is not known whether there is any textual authority for such a depiction or there is an error in the illustration. The correct position may be seen in the illustration 60 a-e.

Vāmadēva Ardhanārī

This would bring us to two important specimens one in the VA Museum in London (ill 114a) and the other in Los Angeles County Museum of Art (ill 113) both showing Ardhanāriśvara Image emanating from Linga shaft. We have noticed that Vāmadēva form also appears as Ardhanāri emanating from Linga. The two Sanskrit texts *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* and the *Jñāna-siddhi* refers to the worship of Vāmadēva /Umā vaktra by the followers of Bhairava school using *Vāma-tantra* for attracting men and women. Both the illustrations mentioned above show the membrum virile erect. Their association with Bhairava Pāśupata cult is certain. It seems that both the illustrations of Ardhanāri emanating from Linga represent Vāmadēva, worshipped by the Bhairavas. (Dte Śiva- Bildwerke der Mathura kunst. Ptfranzstainer Verlag Weisbaden, GMBA Stutgart, 1986)

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Śiva Pārvati (F. 81)

Stella Kramrisch in "Manifestations of Śiva" published by Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1981 – fig 47, illustrates an important image of Śiva-Pārvatī from Pan Asian Collection. The provenance of the image is given as Kashmir and the figure is assigned to eleventh cent. It represents Śiva and Parvati standing, Śiva standing to the right and Parvati to the left. Śiva is four armed holding *trisula* and *mātulinga* fruit in the upper arms and preaching gesture and *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower arms. The preaching arm is turned inwards. He wears a head-dress usually seen in Kashmir images. Śiva in the image is three headed, the front head is calm and serene representing Tatpuruṣha/Mahādēva while the right one is figured with a ferocious look and represent Agōra/Bhairava face. The face to the left is that of Vāmadēva/Umā-vaktra with a feminine countenance. Pārvati stands with two arms holding a mirror with one and the other in preaching pose with the palm turned inwards as in the Śiva image. To the right of Śiva stands his vehicle Nandi. Ganēśa is seated on the pedestal to the right of Śiva while Kārtikēya is seated to Pāravti's left. In the Vedic tradition the reciters hold their palm inwards even to this day as noticed in this group of Śiva Pārvati images. The gesture stands for Vedic recitation.

Stella Kramrisch in her catalogue mentions (p.56) that "the triune heads of the god show Mahādēva, the Great God (as existence, Tat-puruṣha) in the centre, Agōra /Bhairava in his destructive fury on the right and Vāmadēva/Umā central feminine that dwells in Śiva on his left. The three heads stand for a total of five heads, the fourth is not shown in the relief, though in other images of the same subject is turned on the nimbus while the fifth head belonging to transparency is invisible."

As has been shown by me earlier, this image of Śiva is meant to have only three faces as a Tri-mukha, the other two heads are not part of the manifestation. This emphasizes the Tat-puruṣha /Mahāeva aspect only. It belongs to the Bhairava school to be worshipped according to the *Gāruḍa Tantra*.

Umā-mahēśvara (F.80)

Śiva with Umā seated on his lap, looking up to her master with intense affection, is a common theme. A sculpture of beauty of this theme assigned to 10th cent is in the State Museum of Bhopal. Śiva is seated on a pedestal and on his lap is Umā, both the couple looking at each other with great love. With one of his hands, Śiva is

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hugging Umā while with other he wields a trident. With the upper right arm Śiva holds a flower but his lower fore arm of the right hand is broken. The goddess seated is two armed holding a flower in one arm and with the other arm embraces Śiva. To the right and left of the couple are seated Ganēśa and Kārtikēya on the seat. To the right of Śiva is standing his attendant holding *khātvānga*; to the left of is the other attendant holding a *sūla* and behind him stands a lady attendant of the Dēvi. To the right of Śiva stands a nude Bhiarava above and on the left is a deity with his consort. Vidhyādhara couples are carrying a garland above. There is a crown above the image of Śiva to show the Lord as Dēvādihdāēva. The *khātvānga* bearing attendant and the nude Bhiarava in the panel suggest that it belongs to the Bhairava school.

Śiva Sūrya (F. 84 – 85)

Two Sūrya images in the State Museum of Bhopal are illustrated here. **(F. 84)** One is a seated image with four arms with sūla and snake in the rear arms and lotuses in the front arm. The sūla and snake in his hand shows the identity of Sūrya with Śiva. The god wears high shoes in his *udicya vesha*. Flanking him are his attendants Daṇḍi and Pingala, one with a beard. Flanking Sūrya are two *Cāmara dhārinis* representing probably his consorts Ushā and Pratyushā.

The second one is standing with multiple arms which are broken. **(F. 85)** He wears high shoes to indicate his *udicya vēṣha*; beneath his legs stands a goddess; flanking him are his attendants Daṇḍi and Pingala. Further behind are one woman each on each side. They are probably wielding bow and arrow who are Sūrya- Śaktis. Brahmā with three heads is above to the right, while Viṣhṇu is seated on to his left. These two gods Brahmā and Viṣhṇu flanking Sūrya in the centre suggest that Sūrya in this panel is identical with Śiva worshipped as Śiva-Sūrya, as the Trimūrti concept is suggested in such panels. The sculpture mentioned above portrays the same concept of Śiva Sūrya by the weapons in the hands - *sūla* and snake. Sūrya is adored as Mārtānda identical with Bhairava embodying in himself the aspects of Trimūrti need to be recalled here.

Lakulīśa (F. 86 – 87)

Most of the temples of Śiva in Madhya Pradesh incorporate the sculptures of Lakulīśa images that show their affiliations with Bhairava, Pāśupata, or the allied subsects of the Śaivas. Two of the sculptures identified with Lakulīśa illustrated here

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are now in the State Museum of Bhopal. The earlier one among them, **(F.86)** assigned to fifth cent, comes from Gajendragar, dist. Mandasor. The figure looks like a Kumāra, a young boy - Brahmacārin with two arms holding a *lakuda* (club) in his right hand while the other hand is placed on the thigh. He is seated on a high pedestal with legs hanging cross-legged. There is a necklace of *rudrāksha-mālā* around his neck with a pendent. His finely combed curly hairs fall on either side. A cross chain fastens the hairs above the fore head. This is certainly a fine representation of Lakulīśa appearing as a youth and yet in a human form.

The second comes from Hinglajgar, dist. Mandasor **(F. 87)** and assigned to 10th cent. The representation is four armed and hence a deified image. He holds a sūla with a long handle in the right arm. The forearm of the other right hand is broken. He holds a club with the front left arm, which is somewhat damged. The other hand holds a long handle probably a pāśa.The god is seated in *padmāsana* pose. His phallus is erect while his testicles are pressed down by the crossed legs. This is a yogic pose adopted to control sexual energy. The God wears a high *jaṭāmakuṭa* fastened by a cross chain with a flame like buckle. Above is a crescent moon. A snake coiling around the *jaṭāmakuṭa* raises its hood elegantly. Among three necklaces, adorning the neck one is a fine snake with its hood well depicted. In addition, the god wears an *upavīta* of snake. A snake is coiling around the handle of the *trisūla*. The label of the Museum identifies the portrayal as that of Lakulīśa. But it is not unlikely that the image represents Śiva himself as śrikaṇṭa when he was about to appear as Lakulīśa.

Pañca Brahmam (F. 88 – 89)

An interesting sculpture, showing four human ascetics emanating from a linga on its four sides is now in the Gwalior Central Museum. All are seated in different āsanas in different poses. Beneath the seat of one are seen two severed hands and two feet. All the four ascetics are with two hands but no one is shown with a lakuḍa. In between each ascetic are shown in miniature forms, some deities that seems to be that of Śiva. The sculpture is generally identified with Lakulīśa.

In this context it is interesting to note a chapter in the *Linga purāna*, regarding the emanation of Pañca-Brahmams, Tatpuruṣha, Agōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva and Īśāna. All the five are said to be Kumāras likened to human youth. The first to appear was Sadyōjāta who is said to have a tuft-sikhā (śikhā-yukta), who was white in colour and was probably exponent of yoga system. We see from other texts, that Sadyōjāta

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taught Pāśupata yoga with an emphasis on *prānāyāma (yoga)* to Upamanyu. The second was Vāmadēva, who appeared with red garments, red garlands etc. He was the embodiment of 'dhyāna' he was the giver of *dhyāna* system. The third to appears was Tat-puruṣha , with golden colored costumes, garlands etc., and also with *uṣhniṣha*. As Brahmā meditated on this form, there appeared Mahā Dēvi, Mahesvari with four legs, four faces, etc, like a cow. She was called *Mati* - (mind), *Smriti* (remembrance) and *dhriti* (retention). So Śiva told her she would become Rudrāni. She became Raudri Gāyatri, and Brahmā - recited the Gāyatri as Japa and achieved his prayers. Tat-puruṣha is associated with *Japa*. The fourth to appear was Agōra with black colour, garland etc. He wore black garment, and had *ushnīsha*. Brahmā beheld him by *dhyāna yoga*. Worship of Agōra with different kinds of *homas* absolves the devotee of all his sins. It seems Agōra taught the path of worship through *Kriya-Yajñas*.

Īśāna to appear at the end is called Visvarūpa who appeared as a cow with four legs and personification of Gauri, Māyā, Vidyā, Kriṣhṇā, and Haemavatī. She combined in herself *Yoga, Sānkhya, Japas, Vidyā, Vidhi-kriyā, Ritam, Satyam* etc. and She was Sarasvatī and Lakshmī. She was also the supreme bliss- Ānanda. So Īśāna is Visvarūpa represnting all aspects culminating in Ānanda.

In the image under discussion, **(F. 90, 91, 92)** there is the linga in the centre from which four Kumāras emanate in four directions. Each is shown in a particular pose like Swastika, *Ardha-padma, Ekoru (Ūrdhva-jānu)* and *Samāsana*. All of them show different arrangements of hairs on head. One of them seems to hold an antelope like animal in hand. It is possible that this sculpture with Kumāras, appearing as teachers represent the four Brahmams, Tatpuruṣha, Agōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva in human form the linga representing the Īśāna form. One of the sculpture has a pair of severed hands and pada on the pedestal. The severed hand as an ornament along with human skulls appears on the head of Aghōra, in the Gyarasper Trimukha, which indicates its association with Bhairava cult. It comes from Nārēśvar where temples to the three (is not four) manifestations exist.

Narēśar Group of Temples (F. 108, 109, 110, 111, 114)

The Nārēśvar group of temples near Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh consists of a large number of small medium size temples, numbering over 27 built in clusters in the same place, and evidently suggest that they are dedicatory temples built for the fulfillment of specific prayers. The earliest of the group is the east facing temple. The

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presence of Lakulīśa sculptures in Śiva temples and the recovery of a good number of Yogini sculptures some of which are now housed in the Gwalior museum **(F. 100-103)** suggest that the site was a centre of Bhairava cult. Behind one of the early temples is the temple of Mahishāsura-mardini, that indicates the Bhairava school. We have seen that the Vāma Bhairava school is divided into *Gāruḍa, Dakṣhiṇa*, *Vāma* and *Bhūta tantra* branches, for worshipping, Tat-puruṣha Aghōra, Sadyōjāta Vāmadēva forms of Bhairava and that the name of Tat-puruṣha is given as Nārēśa in *Svacchanda-Bhairava-tantra*. We have also seen that Kṣhēmarājā the commentator on this text, assignable to the end of 10th cent or beginning of 11th cent, defines Nārēśa as *Narānam idam-Nārēśam*. The present name of the place is derived by many scholars from Nālēśvara-the lord water drain. This is based on an inscription which calls the name of the deity as Nālēśvara dēva. I think the name Nārēśa itself is the original name of the site derived from the earliest temple built at that site. The earliest temple faces east and is dedicated to Nārēśa Tat-puruṣha. There is an ancient lingustic rule in Sanskrit, which holds that there is no difference between 'ra' and 'la' Nārēśvar and Nālēśvar are identical.

Central India seems to have been a great centre of Bhairava Śaivam from very early times as seen from Udayagiri and Vidisa. At Udayagiri we have the Śiva temple and Durgā side by side. An imposing Durgā, perhaps the tallest **(F.25)** so far noticed is now preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The magnitude of the sculpture and the presence of a remarkable group of early Mātrikas **(F. 97 – 98)** from the same site point to the over whelming influence of Śākta tradition in the region. The combination of the Vāma Bhairava tradition seems to have continued in the region upto probably 11th - 12th cent. A number of monumental sites, like Gyaraspur, Nārēśvar, Bhatesvar, Terahi, Padavali, Shivapuri, Survaya, Bheraghat, Bilaspur, Badoh, Pathari, Mahua and early Khajuraho, appear to have been influenced by this school. It is also possible to identify some of these sites by their orientation, and following either the *Gāruḍa Tantra, Dakṣhiṇa, Vāma*, or *Bhūta tantra*. It would be interesting to trace these four texts and study them for identifying these monuments. As it is beyond the scope of this book, I am not elaborating further, except to state that they did have a great impact and wielded great influence in Central India, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and their neighbouring regions. The same sub schools are mentioned in three texts, namely the well-known *Svacchanda-bhairava-tantra, Kāmikāgama* and the *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka*, so these four sub sects did exist.

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Based on our study we may say that a atleast a few other temples at Narēśvar were built for Sadyōjāta, and that the west-facing temples of the group might have been built for this deity, using *Bhūta tantra*. The same group of priests might have built separate dedicatory temples for different deities.

The temple at Padavali that has yielded not only two Tri-mukhas with Sadyōjāta as the main deity and the intricately carved sculptured panels depicting Bhutas, Prētas and Pisācas in exuberance, **(F.125 – 128)** show that in all probability Bhūa-tantra was followed there.

The Telika mandir at Gwalior is the tallest and biggest temple **(F.29, 93-94)** to have been built for Saptamātās obviously based on the Vāma "Sākta tantra', called Yāmalam.

The group of temples and monastery at Survaya might also belong to the same school for we see two groups of temples, oriented in opposite directions one facing east and the other facing west, at the same place. It may not be wrong to suggest the orientation of these temples as clusters, built very thoughtfully but for the fulfillment of specific prayers, are based on specific texts.

Nārēśvar (F.16)

About 15 km from Gwalior and about three km through rough road is Nārēśvar village. One has to halt and go up the hillock and cross the hilltop. At the other end of the hilltop is the group of temples, called Nārēśvar. There are about 27 temples of different sizes, all at one place of the hill that go by the name Nārēśvar. There is a pond enroute with sufficient water said to be potable. On its bank are twelve small temples nine of which have disappeared leaving only the base lines on the rock. Three are in position; some of them show Ganēśa at the lintel. Inside two of them are linga piṭhas, facing the entrance in one and the other reoriented. As these temples are in a row on the southern slopes of the pond they all face north. Therefore, the *pranāla* facing the entrance in one temple is in its original shape. The water chute *(vārimārga)* is facing east in one and north east in another. These are said to have been repositioned in later times. These north facing temple, might have been built for Vāmadēva / Umā to obtain *Vasikaraṇa* for the attractions and favours of women.

Before one reaches the pond, he sees two modest temples in a group and another a little away. They are devoid of sculptures or architectural embellishment. As

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one approaches the Nārēśvar group there are four in a row all facing west and obviously dedicated to Sadyōjāta form, three of which are fairly well preserved, while one contains a linga.

From here, one has to cross a small ancient stone bridge and descend through steps to reach the floor of the main Nārēśvar group. The floor, cut and flattened, forms the ground for the temples. There are three levels in which the temples are built.

There are three temples in a row, all of them of the same height. **(F.107)** Two of them face east and the third faces north. Among them, the one on the extreme south is the earliest of this group, which has a simple *kapōta-bandha-adhiṣhṭāna*. It has a resemblance to South Indian temple mouldings of the early age. It is architecturally the best among the three. The sanctum is empty now, but the arch above the entrance in the śikhara, shows a seated Lakulīśa image. The entrance to the sanctum has lovely carvings of Gangā and Yamunā on either side. As in other examples, the heads of both the river goddesses are chopped off. The wall on the north of entrance shows a beautiful entwined hanging chain motif. The lintel shows simple rafter marks in geometric design. This temple considered earlier, and facing east should have been dedicated to Tat-puruṣha Nārēśa which has given the name to the group.

The central temple is almost a contemporary of the northern one with simple plain *adhiṣṭāṇa.* The one on the north is based on the north Indian type of *adhishṭāṇas* but the superstructure has been conserved, rather haphazardly. There are some sculptures, but it is not clear whether the positions in which they are seen, are original. In all probability, they are displaced.

At a lower level of about fifteen feet, is another temple, intact upto its *āmalaka.*The enormous amount of debris, show a large number carved stones, and in all probability there were some more temples of the same dimensions but have disappeared.

The one in front of the three temples faces west. It consists of a base (*adhiṣhṭāṇa.*) *bhitti*, and super structure of the *Nāgara* variety. Only a part of the *sikhara* remains, the *grīva* and *āmalaka* have disappeared. Gangā and Yamunā flank the entrance to the sanctum with attendants. Vandals have chopped the heads of Gangā and Yamunā away. The lintel above the entrance carries a Garuḍa holding the tail of cobras winding and coming down on either side but the heads of both the snakes have

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been damaged. There is nothing in the sanctum. But on both the walls flanking the entrance are seen Nagari inscriptions in Sanskrit language, giving the samvat and the king's name and gifts. On the northern sidewall also is seen an inscription of the same age. Based on a record the temple is assigned to the eighth cent, and is considered one among the earliest of the group.

At the back of this temple is another early temple, at an elevated level in more or less fine condition including the *śikhara* and *āmalaka*. Inside the sanctum of this temple was the image of goddess Durgā, the existing sculpture is completely covered with saffron but there is evidence that the main image is Durgā though the sculpture above the waist has disappeared. One of her right hands is rested on an attendant. To the left is a beautiful image bending to the right in an animated pose. At the lower part is seen a figure resembling the body of the Mahisha upto the neck and from the neck emanates a diminutive figure. In all probably the main image was that of Mahiṣhāsura mardini.

The entrance to the temple has lovely carvings. Beautiful images of Gangā and Yamunā **(F.121)** with their attendants are seen on either side, but unfortunately, the heads of both the river goddess are chopped off. Above them are seen on either side three levels musicians and dancers. On the lintel is seen a Garuḍa in the center holding the tails of snakes, which come down either side, framing the entrance to the sanctum. The heads of the snakes are broken. On a level above the Garuḍa human figures (gandharvas?) are seen flying towards the centre. On either ends are seated figures, one on each side, resembling Lakulīśa. As the sculptures are worn out, it is difficult to be assertive but may be the ascetic priests.

This, Mahishāśuramardini temple as we may call it, (23 of ASI) has on its *bhadra* niche on the south side Ganēsa, and on the north Ambikā, while the back niche is completely covered with debris (and probably contained Kārtikēya?) The front of the śikhara portrays a broken image of Simhavāhini.

By the side of this temple is a plain three storied structure **(F.114)** designated as a monastery. The courses of stone up to the first story are regular and indicate an early date, but the upper part shows rebuilding. The monastery building has an entrance that leads to a narrow passage that is blocked after some distance. It is claimed the passage leads to a cave (guha) in the hill but no one has so far investigated the same. The building is devoid of architectural embellishment.

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This remarkable group of temples, built on a remote area after cutting a large part of hill, quite high at some places, looks like an impregnable hill fort and looks like hidden from normal onlookers; it seems to give a halo of secret worship to this area.

Survaya Temples (F. 27, 28, 106, 113, 115-120, 122, 123, 124-131)

The group of Survaya temples at Survaya village, dist .Śivapuri is a landmark in the Central Indian monuments. There are three temples, and a big mediaeval monastry inside a protected fort, the temples and Śaiva priests played a great role not only in the religious life of the people but also in defending the political power for considerable length of time. I have discussed elsewhere that the people looked to the Rājaguru as a saviour of the country – *rakshā-śakti* - in times of danger from invasion, epidemics, natural calamities like fire etc. And this role brought in the danger to the heart of the temples and the habitations of the Śaiva priests. Evidently, the temples were symbols and places that invited the mystic powers for protection. The deity invoked was expected to be the most powerful of the Saivite system. It is well known from monuments, inscriptions and literature that Kāla-Bhairava was the embodiment of ferocious attack on enemies and the most kind to his devotees The Kāla-Bhairava called for some gruesome forms of worship, which was thought to confer victories in most dreaded battles and disasters. We have noted that most of the region being prone to frequent attacks from all directions required temples to Bhairava. This is the main reason for building temples to Bhairava and practicing awesome and secret worship, within well-fortified areas, that is nowhere better illustrated than in Surwaya and Naresar in Central India. There are three well built temples within the Surwaya fort, one facing east and two facing west within few yards. All the three temples are dedicated to Śiva and the portrayal of deities like Andhakāsura samhāra, **(F. 123)** a form of Bhairava on the walls confirm that these temples appearing as clusters within a place are dedicated to some form of Bhairava **(F. 27 – 28).** No inscription is found on the temples now but on stylistic consideration, all are assigned to 10th cent. For convenience, Archaeological Survey of India under whose protection these are now placed serially numbers the temples. The east facing temple, which is the most ornate among the group, is beautiful in spite of the dilapidated condition and damages. It carries some remarkable sculptures. The front *maṇḍapa* and the entrance to the sanctum carry marvelous sculptures. The front *maṇḍapa* carries the portraits of the Śaiva Priests who were responsible for constructions. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is carved with beautifully conceived dancing figures and deities. Five superb śākhās

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(frames) decorate the entrance to the sanctum, with a stepping-stone carrying two lions one on either side. The classical temples are built over four principles namely *dharma, Jñāna, vairāgya* and *aiśvarya*. (Righteousness, knowledge, sacrifice, and governorship). The four opposites are also required for the former to exist. So the texts prescribe eight principles as the Temple form. These principles are visualized as lions. The lions represented on the base are thus the personification of *dharma, Jñāna, vairāgya* and *aiśvarya*.In the centre of the entrance to the temple is the lotus also called *vidyāpadma*. "the lotus of learning". Flanking the entrance are Gangā and Yamunā followed by Nandi Mahākāla, and behind them are the Apsaras. The central frame of the entrance carries a row of mithuna couples.

Viṣhṇu on Gāruḍa appears in the centre of the lintel above the entrance **(F. 117, 118, 119, 120).** The panel behind is divided into two tiers depicting the nine planets-Navagrahas including Rāhu and Kētu at the extreme left of Viṣhṇu. The upper tier carries Apsaras carrying garlands. At the extreme right is Brahmā while at the left is an image, which is totally damaged. The central panel of the middle lintel carries Śiva-tāṇḍava. Flanking Śiva- tāṇḍava to the right is Ganēśa with his consort and to the left is Kārtikēya with his consort. At the extreme right of Śiva is a deity in dancing pose with a Vina probably representing Virabhadra while on the extreme left is a dancing Bhiarava. In between are seen musicians and dancers with drum etc. The top lintel carries three śikhara like ornaments, and minor deities.

The full description of this temple is not attempted here as it is not the scope of this work. It would be advantageous to take up a separate study of every detail of the temple against the text *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra* that is likely to throw more light. As mentioned earlier the worship of Bhairava called Dakṣhiṇa Bhairava School had four branches as Gārudam, Dakṣhiṇam, Vāmam, and Bhūta-tantram. The east-facing temple that enshrines Tatpuruṣha here might have received worship according to the *Gāruda tantra.*

At this stage it may be said that according to *Svacchanda Bhiarava tantra*, every deity in the circle of Bhiarava worship is invoked as an *amsa* of Bhairava.

Just a few yards in front, is a second temple in the Survāya complex facing west located exactly facing temple no 1. Both the temple face each other. This temple fairly well preserved except its śikhara, carries a sanctum and preceding mandapa. The entrance to the sanctum has ornate *sākhā* frames with sculptures. The lintel of the

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entrance above the sanctum carries an image of Viṣhṇu on Garuḍa. **(F.122)** The part behind Viṣhṇu is divided into two tiers horizontally portraying the nine planets (Navagraha) while the upper tier shows the seven mothers Saptamātās dancing along with Ganesa. This brief account of the temple is to provide an idea as to how a temple dedicated to Bhairava was conceived in the mediaeval periods.

A little away is the monastic buildings that served as residential portions of the Temple priests-Ācāryas. It consist of a two storied portions with a number of rooms **(F.113)** but what is interesting is the central part of the building that was occupied by the chief Ācārya has a śikhara like that of the temple that shows the importance of the guru who was likened to Śiva himself at other places.

Conclusions

The importance of the two Sanskrit texts *Sarva-siddhānta-vivēka* and *Jñāna siddhi* have been discussed in the introductory part of this work. A study of many temples and sculptures, especially in Central India, in the light of these two texts, show there was a great preference for the Bhairava school in the region that had been brought out in the fourth chapter of this work. I have also given a given an account of the Ancient city of Ujjaini, with the temple of Mahākālēśvar and the overwhelming presence of Bhairava school, that continues to this day in some form there.

It is important to recall that the study of Śaiva iconography is closely associated with Ujjaini. The earliest representation of Śiva in human form is traced to Ujjaini coins, in which the god is portrayed with a staff and *kamaṇḍalu.* Many Kushan coins from first cent BCE to 2nd 3rd cent. CE portrays Śiva in front of his vehicle-Nandi in different forms. Considerable varieties of these coins appear with the legend Osho (Isa) Śiva with three heads. JN. Banerjee has discussed in detail the occurrence of Śiva in Kushan coins and their significance in his development of Hindu iconography, chapter IV (P.113-128). "Śiva appears for the first time in an anthropomorphic form on the coins hailing from Ujjaini and its environs. The single standing figure on many of these coins can definitely be identified with him". (P. 117). However Banerjee's discription of another series is relevant to our study here. The three headed standing figure on the obverse of a third variety of the Ujjaini coins carrying identical attributes (staff in the right and vase in the left) further strengthen my hypotheses. Cunningham no doubt identified the latter as Mahākāla but his statement that this coin may be accepted as a single evidence of Brahminism at Ujjaini" is unjustifiable. Allan is no

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doubt that this figure and its variants may stand for both the deities, viz, Śiva Mahākāla and Skanda Kārtikēya. The three heads of the figure on some Ujjaini coins have been taken by him to represent partially the six heads of the latter divinity. But we have three headed Śiva figures known from Kushan coins." (P. 117). Banerjee goes on to describe and discuss many coins of the Kushanas. Gondophares, Wema Khadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva - Some gold coins of Huvishka show three faced and four armed Śiva, holding water vessel, thunderbolt, trident and club respectively in the four hands. (p. 123)

Huvishka's gold coins described by Gardner in p. 148 of his look (p. XXVII, 16) have a type of Śiva figure on the reverse which is of outstanding interest from iconographic as well as cult point of view. His description is as follows "Śiva facing, three-headed nimbate clad only in waist band itiphallic, has four arms and hands, in which are goat, wheal, trident, and thunder bolt." (p. 124). It was suggested that this might represent Harihara because of cakra and mace in two hands and trident and mrga on the other. R Chrisman deciphered the inscription on the coin, as in charian script and language, read Mihira, Viṣhṇu and Śiva. Banerjee suggesting that it represented a composite figure of Śiva, Viṣhṇu and Sūrya that would remind later composite figures of Brahmā, Viṣhṇu, Śiva and Sūrya.

Banerjee has dealt with the representation of Śiva in Kushan coins in detail. There is no need to give them again in detail except to say that atleast six different varieties of coins with Śiva are noticed. 1. Single headed Śiva with multiple arms. 2. Three headed Śiva with two or four arms 3. Śiva and Pārvatī with an inscription reading Osho 4. Śiva with bow as a warrior and saint, 5. Śiva as Harihara and 6. Śiva with Viṣhṇu and Sūrya.

Primarily, Śaivism left tremendous impact on Kushan kings, prevailed in the N.W. Frontiers of India, and went as far as central Asia. The second point that deserves attention is the occurrence of three-headed Śiva appearing on the Kushan coins. Three-headed Śiva appears not as Trimurti but as one of the manifestations like Tat-puruṣha , Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva or Agōra/Bhairava. Among the three heads, the central head is the most important for identification. We have noted that the N.W. and Kashmir were more inclined towards Bhairava worship, and we may not be wrong in holding that the coins of Kushanas with three-headed Śiva were inspired by the Bhairava school of Śaivism. We have seen that a number of illustrations from

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Kashmir, discussed in this book are the imagery of the Bhairavas. We have also seen that Cunningham identified the Ujjaini coins with three heads as Mahākāla. Probably he was right. Again the coins of Kushanas with Śiva as an archer with Brahmi inscription reading Ganesa, might represent him as Agōra / Bhairava. Judging from the fact that Kashmiri *pratyabhijnā* system from 8th - 9th cent onwards, absorbed Bhairava Bhaṭṭāra as the primordial deity, we are justified in holding that the N. Western frontier upto central Asia were followers of Bhairava branch of Śaivism.

Khajuraho

Finally we may have to examine one of the most fascinating group of temples from Madhya Pradesh. The question that arises at this stage is when the Bhairava school was so influential in Central India, in so many sites like Gyaraspur near Vidisa, Ujjaini, Batesvar, Nārēśa Padavali, **(F. 126, 128)** Survaya, Bilaspur, Amrol, Terahi **(F. 127)** Pathari etc., did it have any impact on the magnificent monuments of Khajuraho? Both Krishnadeva and Devangana desai have done yeomen service by their work on Khajuaraho. They have already pointed out, that the Chausad yogini temple at the outskirts of Khajuraho, and which is the earliest of the group, had the Vāma practices. Devangana has argued that other group of temples like Khandariya Mahādeva temple, Jagadamba temple, Visvanath temple etc., followed the Soumya Siddhānta Śaivam. In fact she has rejected the suggestion of Pramod chandra that it could have been a Kāpālika centre.

It would require a voluminous work to deal with this monumental group, as such it is not attempted here. However, because of this study, I think it is possible to evaluate the group, especially the Khandriya Mahādeva temple. In my opinion, it is possible that the Khandariya Mahādeva temple was inspired by the Bhairava school for the following reasons. (a) The distribution of the Sapta mātrikās on the base of the temple niches (b) The distribution of Bhairava sculpture in the inner ambulatory (c) The images on the main *bhadra* niches around the walls of the sanctum and (d) the distribution of sculptures on the entrance sākhā-s and finally (e) The so called Sadāśiva catush pada image. (My full discussion on this identification is under print in Prof. Gail flicitation volume).

This book focuses on the two rare Sanskrit texts not known to scholars so far and the need to correlate the Agamic texts with temples for proper identification. It is hoped this work will stimulate further studies in this field.

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